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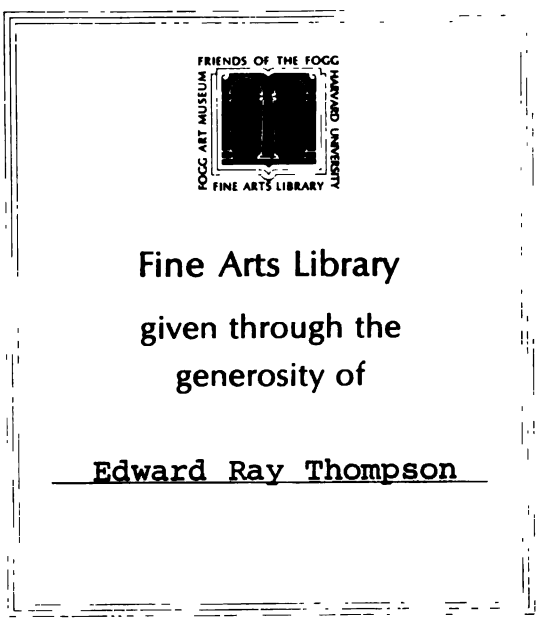
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THE

HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART.

VOL. II.

THE

HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART,

TRANSLATED FROM

THE GERMAN OF JOHN WINCKELMANN,

BY

G. HENRY LODGE, M.D.

VOL. II.

BOSTON:
JAMES R. OSGOOD AND COMPANY.
1872.

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TO

MY FATHER,

WITH EVERY SENTIMENT OF FILIAL REGARD.

G. HENRY LODGE.

PREFACE.

When I undertook, eight years ago, a translation of Winckelmann's *History of Ancient Art*, I had no intention of ever offering it to the public. It was a pleasant task, at which I labored silently, — solely for my own gratification and instruction. Urged, however, by the gentle solicitations of one whom I felt unwilling to deny, — encouraged, besides, by the growing love of art in this country, stimulated as it has been by a few admirable works from the hands of native artists, — and impelled, from my admiration of this noble masterpiece, by a desire of making it more generally useful in an English version, I at last determined to take the responsibility of submitting one volume to the judgment of the public. I have chosen the second, because it treats of Greek art, the monuments of which are far more numerous and interesting than those of any other nation, and because it

presents a systematic exposition of the principles by which the author supposed the Greek artists to have been governed in the conception and conformation of those works which still stand the noblest creations of artistic genius, and about which the students and the lovers of beauty, grace, and majesty still gather with admiration and reverence. Esteeming this volume the most interesting and important of the series, I have not hesitated to offer it first for the perusal of the American public. I have felt at greater liberty to make the selection, as there is no necessary connection between this and the preceding volume. It treats of Greek art alone: Winckelmann carries out in it the plan with which he started, of attempting to furnish a system of ancient art in general, and which he has completed, in the first volume, in reference to the art of the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Etruscans, and other nations.

As far as it was in my power, I have endeavoured to render this translation a worthy tribute to the memory of the illustrious author, whose innate feeling of the beautiful and elevated, and whose masterly application of their principles to the formative arts, eminently qualified him for his task. His heart felt the beauty and grandeur of ancient art, and his understanding

justified his emotions. From his early familiarity with the literature of Greece, his mind had acquired an antique cast; and I can easily imagine, that, when he entered Rome for the first time, and gazed upon the splendors of art that were gathered together in that "Niobe of nations," he felt and thought like a Greek, standing in the Olympic Stadium, surrounded by the matchless treasures of his native land. It is not, then, astonishing, that, with all the eloquence of an earnest and devoted spirit, he denounced the exaggeration, the fantastic conceits, and the affectation of modern art, and fearlessly and singly held up to admiration the repose, the simplicity, the purity, and the truth to nature of the antique. Winckelmann does not deal merely in the dates and the names of works and artists; he is more than an antiquarian; he is the philosophical historian of ancient art. He is not contented with presenting to view the most beautiful monuments of human genius, but he investigates and exhibits the sources of their beauty, the characteristics of their style, and the reasons why they still command the admiration of the world, even as they did in those distant ages when, like Minerva, they came into being, radiant with wisdom and beauty. Our own feelings tell us that he is right, when he refers us back to

nature as the sure guaranty of their undying fame. He exposes the causes and principles of the origin and cultivation of the arts, — the circumstances, both external and internal, which produced their flourishing state, and those which brought about their decline and fall, — and also the causes to which may reasonably be attributed the points of resemblance and difference observable in the arts of different nations. The soundness of his judgment, the acuteness and originality of his observations, and the copiousness of his illustrations, drawn from an intimate familiarity with every extant monument of ancient art, and with every thing in ancient classic literature which could elucidate the subject to which he had devoted his life, render him the most trustworthy, instructive, and delightful of the writers on art. I cannot but think that a careful study of Winckelmann's *History of Ancient Art*, and a thoughtful consideration of the great principles embodied in it, must necessarily tend to form a pure, correct, and elevated taste.

That I might render this volume more interesting to the general reader, I have added a number of engravings, selected from different sources, to those contained in the German edition. Among them may be enumerated the head of the Jupiter of Phidias, copied from a cast in

the Boston Athenæum; a head of Bacchus, forming the frontispiece, and the ear of a Pancratiast, from Winckelmann's *Monumenti Antichi Inediti;* Silenus with Bacchus in his arms, and another figure of this demigod under a more common form, from the *Museo Pio-Clementino;* heads of Jupiter Serapis, Pluto, and a Triton, from the *Museo Chiaramonti;* and a head of Medusa from the *Gems* of the *Museum Florentinum;* — books belonging to the library of the Boston Athenæum, from which I have derived much valuable aid in the preparation of this volume.

Although, as I have previously remarked, this treatise on the drawing of the nude figure forms a volume complete in itself, still it is my intention to present to the public, at some future time, the remaining volumes of the series.

CONTENTS.

HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART.

BOOK IV.

ART AMONG THE GREEKS.

CHAPTER I.

GROUNDS AND CAUSES OF THE PROGRESS AND SUPERIORITY OF GREEK ART BEYOND THAT OF OTHER NATIONS.

SECT.		PAGE
1.	Introduction	3
2 – 4.	Causes of the Progress and Superiority of Greek Art	3
5 – 8.	Influence of Climate in producing the Admirable Conformation of the Greeks	4
9 – 12.	Kind and Joyous Disposition of the Greeks	7
13.	Constitution and Government of the Greeks. Remarks on their Freedom	9
14.	Statues, as Rewards for Excellence in Athletic Exercises, and for other Merit	10
15.	Veneration for Statues	11
16, 17.	Gayety of the Greeks the Source of Festivals and Games	12
18 – 22.	Influence of Freedom on the Mind	14
23 – 27.	Respect for Artists	17
28.	Application of Art	21
29, 30.	Sculpture and Painting attained Maturity at Different Periods	22
31.	Causes of the Progress of Painting	23
32 – 34.	Art practised throughout Greece	23

CHAPTER II.

THE ESSENTIAL OF ART.

1 – 6.	Introduction	25
7.	The Essential Point in Art. The Drawing of the Nude Figure based on Beauty	28
8 – 19.	Of Beauty in general. Negative Idea of it	28
20 – 24.	Positive Idea of Beauty	39
25 – 27.	The Shape of Beauty in Works of Art. Individual Beauty	42
28 – 32.	And especially of Youth	44
33 – 35.	Ideal Beauty formed from Beautiful Parts of Individuals	47
36 – 39.	Especially of Eunuchs and Hermaphrodites	50
40.	Denoted by the Form of Beasts	54

BOOK V.

ART AMONG THE GREEKS. — CONTINUED.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONFORMATION AND BEAUTY OF THE MALE DEITIES AND HEROES.

1 – 3.	Conformation of Youthful Deities	59
4.	Different Stages of Youth in Youthful Male Deities	62
5 – 7.	Satyrs or Fauns. The Young Satyrs	62
8 – 10.	The Older Satyrs or Sileni, together with Pan	64
11 – 15.	The Youth and Conformation of Apollo. Of a Beautiful Genius in the Villa Borghese	66
16, 17.	The Youth of other Deities. Of Mercury	69
18.	Of Mars	71
19, 20.	Of Hercules	72
21 – 24.	Of Eunuchs in Bacchus	73
25, 26.	And, likewise, in the Bearded Bacchus	76
27, 28.	The Beauty of Divinities of a Manly Age; and the Difference between the Human and the Deified Hercules	77
29 – 35.	Of Jupiter, and especially of Serapis and Pluto; likewise of Serapis and the Centaurs	79
36, 37.	Of Neptune	84
38.	And of the other Sea-Gods	85
39 – 41.	Idea of Beauty in the Figures of the Heroes; how it is and ought to be	86

42, 43. The Reverse censured in Figures of Heroes . . . 88
44, 45. In the Figures of the Saviour 89

CHAPTER II.

THE CONFORMATION AND BEAUTY OF THE FEMALE DEITIES AND HEROINES.

1, 2. Idea of Beauty in Female Divinities 91
3, 4. Of the Goddesses. Of the Superior Goddesses. Of Venus, the Venus de' Medici, and others like her . . 92
5. The Look of Venus 94
6. Venus Dressed 95
7. Juno 95
8. Pallas 96
9. Diana 97
10. Ceres 98
11. Proserpine 99
12. Hebe 99
13. The Inferior Goddesses 100
14. The Graces 100
15. The Hours 100
16. The Nymphs 101
17. The Muses 102
18. The Fates 103
19. The Furies 103
20. The Gorgons 104
21, 22. The Amazons 106
23. Beauty of the Portraits of Particular Individuals . . 108
24. Ideal Conformation of Animals 108
25. Beauty of Female Masks 109
26. Concluding Remarks on the Beauty of Conformation, generally considered 109

CHAPTER III.

THE EXPRESSION OF BEAUTY IN FEATURES AND ACTION.

1. Of the Expression of Beauty both in Features and Action . 112
2. The word *Expression* explained and defined . . 112
3. Principles of Artists in Expression. Stillness and Repose abstractly 113
4. United with Expression of the Passions 113
5. Propriety in general 114
6. Figures of Female Dancers 115
7. Expression in Figures of the Divinities. Of Repose and Stillness 116

8.	In Jupiter	117
9.	In Apollo	117
10.	Posture of Figures. Decorum in Male Figures	118
11 – 15.	Expression in Figures taken from the Heroic Age	120
16, 17.	In Women of the Heroic Age	123
18.	Expression in Persons of Rank	125
19 – 21.	Roman Emperors represented on their Monuments like Citizens	125
22.	General Remarks upon the Expression of Violent Emotions	127
23, 24.	Of Expression in most Works of Modern Artists generally	128
25.	Ancient and Modern Artists compared in regard to Action	130
26.	Supplementary Remarks on the Conceptions of Beauty in the Works of Modern Artists	132
27.	Opinions of the Unskilled	132
28.	Superiority of Modern Painting	133
29.	Of Living Sculptors in Rome. Imitation of Antique Works	135

CHAPTER IV.

PROPORTION. — COMPOSITION.

1 – 4.	Of Proportion generally	136
5.	Opinion of Vitruvius in regard to the Proportion of Columns	138
6.	Proportion of the Heads of Figures	139
7.	Proportions of the Human Figure more accurately determined	141
8.	Faults in the Proportion of Ancient Figures	142
9 – 12.	Proportion more accurately determined, especially in regard to the Length of the Foot, in Refutation of the Erroneous Objections of some Writers	143
13.	Proportions of the Face determined, for Designers	146
14 – 16.	Of Composition	147

CHAPTER V.

BEAUTY OF INDIVIDUAL PARTS OF THE BODY.

1 – 3.	Of the Beauty of Individual Parts of the Body	151
4.	Of the Head, and especially of the Profile of the Face	152
5, 6.	The Forehead	153
7 – 9.	The Hair on the Forehead generally	155
10.	Of Hercules	157
11.	Of Alexander the Great	158
12.	Refutation of the Name given to a Head cut on a Gem	159
13.	Erroneous Reason of this Appellation	159
14.	Similarity of this Head to that of Hercules	160
15.	A Representation of Hercules with Omphale	160
16.	Proof of this Supposition from the Dress of the Lydians	161

17, 18.	Explanation of a Painting on a Vase of Terra Cotta	162
19.	Of Heads of Hyllus	164
20.	The Eyes. The Beauty of their Form generally	165
21.	In Art, of Ideal Heads	167
22.	Eyes of Divinities	168
23.	The Eyelids	169
24.	The Eyebrows. Attributes of their Beauty	170
25.	Objections to Joined Eyebrows	171
26.	The Mouth	172
27, 28.	The Chin	174
29.	The Ears generally	176
30 – 35.	Ears of Athletes or Pancratiasts	176
36.	The Hair	182
37, 38.	Difference, in respect to the Hair, between Ancient and Modern Artists	183
39.	Of the Hair of Satyrs or Fauns	184
40.	Hair of Apollo and Bacchus	185
41.	Hair of Young Persons	185
42.	Color of the Hair	185

CHAPTER VI.

BEAUTY OF THE EXTREMITIES, BREAST, AND ABDOMEN.—DRAWING OF THE FIGURES OF ANIMALS BY GREEK MASTERS.

1.	Of the Beauty of the Extremities	187
2.	Of the Hands	188
3 – 5.	Of the Legs, Knees, and Feet	188
6.	The Breast of Male Figures	190
7, 8.	Of Female Figures	190
9.	Nipples on the Breast of the Antinoüs, erroneously so called, in the Belvedere	191
10 – 12.	The Abdomen	192
13 – 17.	General Remarks in reference to this Treatise	194
18 – 24.	Of the Drawing of the Figures of Animals by Greek Artists	199

Notes 205

HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART.

BOOK IV.

ART AMONG THE GREEKS.

HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART.

BOOK IV.

ART AMONG THE GREEKS.

CHAPTER I.

Grounds and Causes of the Progress and Superiority of Greek Art beyond that of other Nations.

1. The same remark is applicable to the study of Greek art, as to that of Greek literature. No one can form a correct judgment of either, without having read, repeatedly, every thing in the latter, and without having seen and investigated, if possible, all that remains of the former. But as the study of Greek literature is made more difficult than that of all other languages united, by the great number of its authors and commentators, so the countless multitude of the remains of Greek art renders the investigation of them far more laborious than that of the remains of other ancient nations; no one individual can possibly observe them all.

2. Greek art is the principal purpose of this history, and, from the innumerable beautiful monuments of it which remain, it is the worthiest object of study and imitation; it therefore demands

a minute investigation, consisting, not in notices of imperfect characteristics, and in explanations of the conceptions which it embodies, but in information as to its essential; an investigation in which not merely facts are communicated for instruction, but also principles for practice. The treatise in which we have discussed the art of the Egyptians, the Etruscans, and other nations, may enlarge our ideas, and lead to correctness of judgment; but this on Greek art will attempt to base them on the Unity of Truth (the one and the true), as a standard of opinion and a rule in execution.

3. The work will be divided into four parts. The first, which is introductory, will treat of the grounds and causes of the advancement and superiority of Greek art over that of other nations; the second, of its essential; the third, of its rise and fall; and the fourth, of the mechanical part of art. This chapter will close with a consideration of the paintings which have come down to us from antiquity.

4. The superiority which art acquired among the Greeks is to be ascribed partly to the influence of climate, partly to their constitution and government, and the habits of thinking which originated therefrom, and, in an equal degree also, to respect for the artist, and the use and application of art.

5. The influence of climate must vivify the seed from which art is to be produced; and for this seed Greece was the chosen soil. The talent for philosophy was believed by Epicurus to be exclusively Greek; but this preëminence might be claimed more correctly for art. The Greeks acknowledged and prized the happy clime under which they

lived, though it did not extend to them the enjoyment of a perennial spring; for, on the night when the revolt against the Spartan government broke out in Thebes, it snowed so violently as to confine every one to the house. Moderateness of temperature constituted its superiority, and is to be regarded as one of the more remote causes of that excellence which art attained among the Greeks. The climate gave birth to a joyousness of disposition; this, in its turn, invented games and festivals; and both together fostered art, which had already reached its highest pinnacle at a period when that which we call Learning was utterly unknown to the Greeks. At this time they attached a peculiar signification to the honorable title of Author, who was regarded with a certain degree of contempt; and Plato makes Socrates say, that distinguished men, in Greek cities, had not drawn up or left behind them any writings, for fear of being numbered among the Sophists.

6. Much that might seem ideal to us was natural among them. Nature, after having passed step by step through cold and heat, established herself in Greece. Here, where a temperature prevails which is balanced between winter and summer, she chose her central point; and the nigher she approaches it, the more genial and joyous does she become, and the more general is her influence in producing conformations full of spirit and wit, and features strongly marked and rich in promise. Where clouds and heavy mists rarely prevail, but Nature acts in a serene and gladsome atmosphere, such as Euripides describes the Athenian, she imparts an earlier maturity

to the body; she is distinguished for vigorous development, especially of the female form; and it is reasonable to suppose that in Greece she perfected man to the highest degree; — for what the Scholiasts assert respecting the long heads or long faces of the inhabitants of the island of Eubœa is an absurd dream, devised for the sole purpose of finding the derivation of the name of a people there, called *Μάκρωνες*.

7. The Greeks were conscious of this, and, as Polybius says, of their superiority generally to other nations; and among no people has beauty (1) been prized so highly as among them. In a very old ode, — ascribed by an unpublished Scholiast to Simonides or Epicharmus, the first of the four wishes, of which Plato quotes only three, is to be healthy; the second, beautiful, *καλὸν γενέσθαι*, or *φυὰν καλὸν γενέσθαι*, as, according to the Scholiast above referred to, the words properly signify; the third, to be rich honestly, *ἀδόλως πλουτεῖν*; and the fourth, not mentioned by Plato, to be gay and merry with one's friends, *ἡβᾶν μετὰ φίλων*; — this signification of the word in this place may, by the way, serve to elucidate Hesychius.

8. Since, therefore, beauty was thus desired and prized by the Greeks, nothing was concealed which could enhance it. Every beautiful person sought to become known to the whole nation by this endowment, and especially to please the artists, because they decreed the prize of beauty; and, for this very reason, they had an opportunity of seeing beauty daily. Beauty was an excellence which led to fame; for we find that the Greek histories make mention of those who were distinguished for it. Some persons were even characterized by a particular name,

borrowed from some beautiful portion of the body; thus, Demetrius Poliorcetes was named, from the beauty of his eyelids, χαριτοβλέφαρος, that is to say, "on whose lids the Graces dwell." It appears, indeed, to have been a belief, that the procreation of beautiful children might be promoted by the distribution of prizes for beauty, as there is reason to infer from the contests of beauty which were instituted in the remotest ages by Cypselus, king of Arcadia, in the time of the Heraclidæ, on the banks of the river Alpheus, in Elis; and also from the fact, that, at the festival of the Philesian Apollo, a prize for the most exquisite kiss was conferred on the youthful. Its assignment was subject to the decision of a judge, as was probably also the case at Megara, at the tomb of Diocles. At Sparta, and at Lesbos, in the temple of Juno, and among the citizens of Parrhasia, the women contended for the prize of beauty (2). The regard for this quality was so general and so strong, that, as Oppian declares, the Spartan women placed in their sleeping-rooms an Apollo, or Bacchus, or Nereus, or Narcissus, or Hyacinthus, or Castor and Pollux, in order that they might bear beautiful children. If it is true, what Dion Chrysostom asserts of his own time and that of Trajan, that manly beauties had ceased to be an object of regard, that people no longer knew how to prize them, then this very disregard may be considered as one cause of the decline of art at that time.

9. To the same influence, in an equal degree, which the atmosphere and climate exercised upon the physical conformation, — which, according to the testimony of all travellers, is of superior excellence even

present day, and could in-
ner times, — are to be as-
es, their gentle hearts, and
lities that contributed fully
and lovely images which
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s that this was their charac-
Athenians is as well known
arts. Hence a poet says,
[illegible] the feeling of pity; for it appears that, from the times of the oldest wars of the Argives and Thebans, the oppressed and persecuted always found refuge and received help there. This same genial disposition was the origin of theatrical representations, and other games, — for the purpose, as Pericles says, of chasing sadness from life.

10. This is more easily understood by contrasting the Greeks with the Romans. The inhuman, sanguinary games, and the agonizing and dying gladiators, in the amphitheatres of the latter, even during the period of their greatest refinement, were the most gratifying sources of amusement to the whole people. The former, on the contrary, abhorred such cruelty; and, when similar fearful games were about to be introduced at Corinth, some one observed, that they must throw down the altar of Mercy and Pity, before they could resolve to look upon such horrors. The Romans, however, finally succeeded in introducing them even at Athens.

11. The humanity of the Greeks and the fierceness of the Romans are, moreover, manifest from the mode in which they respectively conducted their wars. With the latter it was almost imperative, not only to cut

down every human being in captured cities, on first entering them, but also to rip open the dogs' bellies, and hack to pieces all other animals; and this even Scipio Africanus the elder permitted, when Carthage was taken by storm. We observe the reverse of this in the Athenians. They had resolved, in public assembly, to order the commander of their fleet to put to death all the male population of Mitylene, in the island of Lesbos, because this city had thrown off its allegiance, and been the leader in the rebellion of the whole island against their supremacy. But scarcely had the order been despatched, when they repented of it, declaring it to be an inhuman decree.

12. The contrast between the dispositions of the Romans and Greeks is especially manifested in the wars of the latter. The Achæans conducted them with so much humanity, that they agreed among themselves neither to carry nor to use weapons which might be discharged from a distance or from an ambush, but to fight hand to hand with the sword. Indeed, when the Olympic games occurred, at which all Greece harmoniously assembled to share in the general hilarity, all hostilities ceased and were forgotten for some days, even in times of the greatest exasperation. In remoter and less civilized times, during the obstinate Messenian wars, the Spartans made a truce of forty days with the Messenians, on the occurrence of the festival celebrated by the latter in honor of Hyacinthus. This event took place in the second Messenian war, which terminated in the twenty-eighth Olympiad.

13. The independence of Greece is to be regarded as the most prominent of the causes, originating in

Ground. S.130
Freedom

government, of its superiority always held her seat in this he throne of kings, — whose before the increasing light of its inhabitants the blessings hus, Homer calls Agamemnon eople, to signify his love for tude for their welfare. Al- vards succeeded in establish- hey did so in their own terri- tories alone; the nation, as a whole, never recognized a common ruler; and, prior to the conquest of Naxos by the Athenians, no free state in Greece had ever subjugated another. Hence, no individual possessed the sole prerogative of greatness in his own country, and the power of gaining immortality for himself to the exclusion of all others.

14. Art was, indeed, employed very early, to preserve the remembrance of individuals; and such a mode of commemoration was free to every Greek. It was even allowable to set up in the temples the statues of one's children, which we know was done by the mother of the celebrated Agathocles, who devoted to a temple an image of him in his childhood. The honor of a statue was, in Athens, what an empty, barren title, or a cross upon the breast, the cheapest of all royal rewards, is in our day. The Athenians, therefore, acknowledged the praise which Pindar, in one of his odes, still extant, merely incidentally bestowed upon them, not by a courteous expression of thanks, but by erecting to him a statue in a public place, before the temple of Mars. But as the more ancient Greeks far prefer-

red natural advantages to learning, so the earliest rewards were conferred on bodily exercises; and we find mention made of a statue which had been erected, at Elis, to a Spartan athlete, named Eutelidas, as early as the thirty-eighth Olympiad; and this probably was not the first instance. In the lesser games, as at Megara, a pillar was set up with the name of the victor upon it. Hence, the most celebrated men among the Greeks sought, in their youth, to distinguish themselves at these games. Chrysippus and Cleanthes were famous here, before they were known by their philosophy. Plato himself appeared among the combatants in the Isthmian games at Corinth, and in the Pythian at Sicyon. Pythagoras won the prize at Elis, and was the teacher of Eurymenes, who was also victorious in the same games. Even among the Romans, bodily exercises were a path to fame. Papirius, who avenged on the Samnites the disgrace of the Romans at the Furculæ Caudinæ, is less known to us by this victory than by the name of "the Runner," which is also given to Achilles by Homer. Not only were the statues of the victors formed in the likeness of those whom they represented, but even the images of the successful horses in the chariot-races were copied after life, as we are particularly informed with respect to the horses of Cimon, the Athenian.

15. Next to these causes, the reverence for statues may be regarded as among the most prominent. For it was maintained that the oldest images of the deities — the artists of which were unknown — had fallen from heaven, *Διιπετῆ*; and that not

only these, but every sacred statue, whose sculptor was known, was filled with the godhead which it represented.

16. Besides this superstitious belief, the gayety of the Greeks had also an influence upon the general progress of art. The artist, even in the earliest ages, was occupied in executing statues of the victors in the numerous games then celebrated, which he was required to make in the likeness of the individuals, and not above the size of life; upon these points the judges in the games, Ἑλλανοδίκαι, strictly insisted.

17. The portrait-statue of a victor, being erected on the holiest spot in Greece, and gazed at and honored by the whole nation, presented a powerful inducement to excellence in its execution, not less than to effort for its attainment. Never, among any people, from that time to the present, has the artist had such an opportunity to distinguish himself; to say nothing of the statues in the temples, — not of the gods only (3), but also of their priests and priestesses. The highest honor among the people was to be an Olympic conqueror; it was regarded as the height of felicity; the city to which he belonged considered that good-fortune had befallen it. He was therefore supported from the public revenues, and sumptuously buried by his native city; the demonstrations of respect were extended even to his children. Statues were erected to the conquerors in the great games, — and to many of them in proportion to the number of their victories, — not only on the spot where the games were celebrated, but also in

their native land; since, to speak correctly, the city of the victor, not the victor himself, was crowned. His fellow-citizens, consequently, participated in the honor of his statue, for which they paid, and the artist had the whole nation for judges of his work. To Euthymus, of Locri, in Italy, — who, with one exception, had invariably conquered at Elis, — the Olympic oracle, indeed, ordered sacrifices to be offered even during his life, as well as after death. Meritorious citizens also obtained the honor of a statue; and Dionysius makes mention of the statues of those citizens of Cumæ, in Italy, which Aristodemus — the tyrant of this city, and the friend of Tarquin the Proud — caused to be removed from the temple in which they stood and thrown into unclean places, in the twenty-second Olympiad. To certain victors in the Olympic games at an early date, before the arts had yet attained to excellence, statues were erected long after their death, to perpetuate their memory: thus, upon one Œbotas, who lived during the sixth Olympiad, this honor was first conferred in the eighteenth. It is singular that any one (4) should have permitted his statue to be made before obtaining the victory; yet it was done by one individual, such was his confidence of success. At Ægium, in Achaia, a hall, or covered gallery, was appropriated to a certain conqueror, for whom it had been built by his native city, in which to practise his gymnastic exercises.

It appears to me not to be out of place to make mention here of a beautiful, but mutilated, nude statue of a slinger, which it is proved to be by

the sling, with the stone in it, resting on the right thigh. It is not easy to say on what grounds a statue had been erected to such a person. The poets have not represented any hero with a sling; and slingers (5) were very unusual among the Greek warriors; wherever found, they were always rated lower than any other portion of an army, and, like the archers, were light-armed troops, γυμνῆτες. It was so likewise among the Romans; and whenever it was intended to inflict a severe punishment on a soldier belonging to the cavalry or heavy-armed infantry, he was degraded to the slingers. Now, as the statue of which we speak must represent some particular individual of antiquity, and not merely a slinger, one might say that Pyræchmes, the Ætolian, is intended by it; for, on the return of the Heraclidæ to the Peloponnesus, he was the champion in the single contest which was to determine the possessor of the territory of Elis; and his skill lay in the use of the sling.

18. The thoughts of the whole people rose higher with freedom, just as a noble branch rises from a sound stock. As the mind of a man accustomed to reflection is usually more elevated in the broad fields, on the public highway, and on the summit of an edifice, than in an ordinary chamber, or in a confined space, so, also, the manner of thinking among the free Greeks must have been very different from that of nations living under more arbitrary forms of government. Herodotus shows that freedom alone was the basis of the power and superiority to which Athens attained; since this city previously, when obliged to acknowledge a sovereign, was unable to

keep pace with its neighbours. For the very same reason, eloquence did not begin to flourish among the Greeks prior to their enjoyment of perfect independence; hence, the Sicilians attributed to Gorgias the invention of oratory. It might be maintained, from coins of the cities of Sicily and Magna Græcia, that the arts began to flourish in this island and in the lower part of Italy sooner even than in Greece, just as the other departments of knowledge, generally, were cultivated there at an earlier date than in Greece. This we know to have been the case with the art of oratory, in which Gorgias, of Leontium, in Sicily, first distinguished himself, and who, when sent as ambassador from this city to Athens, attracted universal attention. Even philosophy received a systematic form in the Eleatic or Italian school, and in that founded by Pythagoras, sooner than among the other Greeks.

19. The freedom which gave birth to great events, political changes, and jealousy among the Greeks, planted, as it were in the very production of these effects, the germ of noble and elevated sentiments. As the sight of the boundless surface of the sea, and the dashing of its proud waves upon the rocky shore, expands our views and carries the soul away from, and above, inferior objects, so it was impossible to think ignobly in the presence of deeds so great and men so distinguished. The Greeks, in their palmy days, were a thinking people. At an age when we do not generally begin to judge for ourselves, they had already exerted their reasoning faculties for twenty years or more; they employed their intellectual powers at the period when they

are brightest and strongest and are sustained by the vigor and sprightliness of the body, which, among us, is ignobly nourished until it decays.

20. The youthful understanding, which, like the tender bark, retains and enlarges the incisions made in it, was not amused by mere sounds without ideas; nor was the brain — like a waxed tablet, which can contain only a certain number of words or images — filled with dreams, to the exclusion of truth. To be learned, that is to say, to know what others have known, was the ambition of a later period. In the best days of Greece, it was easy to be learned, in the signification of the word at that time; and every one could be wise. For there was one vanity less in the world at that time than at present, namely, that of being conversant with many books, — since the scattered fragments of the greatest of poets were not collected until the sixty-first Olympiad. These the child learned; the youth thought as the poet thought; and when he had achieved any meritorious act, he was numbered among the first men of his nation.

21. With the advantages of such an education, Iphicrates, when in his twenty-fourth year, was elected by his fellow-citizens of Athens commander-in-chief of the army. Aratus was scarcely twenty years old, when he freed his native land, Sicyon, from the rule of tyrants, and, soon afterwards, became the head of the whole Achæan league. Philopœmen, though a mere boy, had the greatest share in the victory which Antigonus, king of Macedonia, aided by the members of the Achæan league, gained over the Lacedæmonians, and which made them masters of Sparta.

22. A similar education produced, among the Romans also, that early maturity of intellect which we see manifested, among other instances, in Scipio the younger and Pompey. The former, in his twenty-fourth year, was sent to Spain, at the head of the Roman legions, for the express purpose of restoring the discipline of the army in that country, which had become impaired; and Velleius says of the latter, that, in his twenty-third year, he levied an army at his own expense, and, without any public authority, followed his own counsels. When Pericles stepped forward, and said, what we are permitted scarcely to think of ourselves, — "Ye are angry with me because I believe myself inferior to no one in the knowledge of what may be required, or in the ability to speak about it," — he did so in reliance upon the elevated habits of thought created by such an education, and common to a whole nation, and upon the ardent desire for glory which was felt by every individual of it. Their historians speak with no less frankness of the virtues of their own people than of the faults of other nations.

23. A wise man was the most highly honored; he was known in every city, as the richest is among us; just as the younger Scipio was, who brought the statue of Cybele to Rome. The artist also could attain to this respect. Socrates, indeed, pronounced the artists the only truly wise, as being actually, not apparently so; it was probably from this conviction that Æsop constantly associated with sculptors and architects. At a much later period, Diognetus, the painter, was one of those who taught Marcus Aurelius philosophy. This emperor acknowledged that he

had learned of him to distinguish truth from falsehood, and not to regard follies as merits. The artist could become a lawgiver, for all the lawgivers were common citizens, as Aristotle testifies. He could command an army, like Lamachus, one of the neediest citizens of Athens, and see his statue placed beside those of Miltiades and Themistocles, and even near those of the gods themselves. Thus, Xenophilus and Strato placed statues of themselves, in a sitting posture, close to their statues of Æsculapius and Hygeia, at Argos; Chirisophus, the sculptor of the Apollo at Tegea, stood in marble near his work; the figure of Alcamenes was wrought in relief on the summit of the temple at Eleusis; and Parrhasius and Silanion, in their picture of Theseus, were honored together with the hero himself. Other artists put their names upon their works, — as Phidias, for example, at the feet of the Olympian Jupiter. The names of the artists also appeared on different statues of the victors at Elis; and on the chariot with four bronze horses, which Dinomenes erected to his father Hiero, king of Syracuse, was an inscription in two lines, to the effect that Onatas was the artist. Still, however, this custom was not so general, that the absence of the artist's name upon admirable statues proves them, conclusively, to be works of later times (6). Such an inference was to be expected only from those who had seen Rome in dreams, or, like young travellers, in one month.

24. The reputation and success of artists were not dependent upon the caprice of ignorance and arrogance, nor were their works fashioned to suit the wretched taste or the incompetent eye of a

judge set up by flattery and fawning; but the wisest of the whole nation, in the assembly of united Greece, passed judgment upon, and rewarded, them and their works; and at Delphos, as well as at Corinth, contests in painting, for which judges were specially appointed, were instituted in the time of Phidias. The first contest of the kind was between Panænus, the brother, or, as others have it, the nephew, of Phidias, and Timagoras of Chalcis, in which the latter won the prize. Before such judges Aetion appeared with his picture of Alexander and Roxana: the presiding judge, named Proxenides, who pronounced the decision, bestowed his daughter in marriage upon the artist. We also see that the judges were not so dazzled by a brilliant reputation in other cities, as to deny to merit its rights; for at Samos, the picture by Timanthes, representing the decision upon the arms of Achilles, was preferred to that of Parrhasius.

25. The judges, however, were not unacquainted with the arts; for there was a time in Greece when its youth were taught in the schools of art as well as philosophy; Plato learned drawing at the same time with the higher sciences. The design was, as Aristotle says, that they might acquire a correct knowledge and judgment of beauty.

26. Hence, the artist wrought for immortality; and the value set upon his works placed him in a position to elevate his art above all mere mercenary considerations. Thus, it is known that Polygnotus gratuitously embellished with paintings the Portico at Athens, and also, as it appears, a public edifice (7) at Delphos, in which he represented the tak-

ing of Troy. Gratitude for the latter work seems to have induced the Amphictyons, or national council of the Greeks, to award to the noble-minded artist the honor of being entertained at the public expense throughout Greece.

27. In general, excellence in art and handiwork of every kind was particularly prized; the best workman in the most humble craft might succeed in rendering his name immortal; and we are told that the Greeks were accustomed to pray the gods that their memories might never die. We know, even at this day, the name of the architect of an aqueduct on the island of Samos, and of him who constructed the largest vessel there; also the name, Architeles, of a famous stone-cutter, who excelled in working columns. The names of two weavers or embroiderers, who wrought a mantle for the Pallas Polias, at Athens, are known; likewise the name, Parthenius, of a maker of very correct balances, or balance-scales (8); the name is also preserved of the saddler, as we should call him, who made the leathern shield of Ajax; even a certain Peron, who prepared a fragrant ointment, was noticed in the works of different distinguished men. Plato himself has immortalized in his works Thearion, a baker, on account of his skill in his handicraft, as well as Sarambus, a clever innkeeper. With this view, the Greeks appear to have named many excellent articles after the persons by whom they were made, and the articles were always known by those names. Thus, the vessels that were fashioned in a form similar to those made by Thericles, of burnt clay, in the time of Pericles, received their name from this

artist. Wooden candelabra were made at Samos, which were much valued; Cicero pursued his nightly studies, at his brother's country-seat, by the light from such candlesticks. In the island of Naxos, statues were erected to him who first wrought the Pentelic marble into tiles, for the purpose of covering the roofs of buildings, and merely on account of this invention. Superior artists were distinguished by the surname Godlike, — as Alcimedon, for instance, by Virgil: this was the highest praise among the Spartans.

28. The uses to which art was applied sustained its greatness. Being consecrated to the gods, and devoted only to the holiest and best purposes in the land, at the same time that economy and simplicity characterized the abodes of the citizens, the artist was not cramped in the grandeur of his subject or of his conceptions to suit the size of the dwelling or gratify the fancy of its proprietor, but his work was made to conform to the lofty ideas of the whole nation. We know that Miltiades, Themistocles, Aristides, and Cimon, the leaders and deliverers of Greece, resided in no better houses than their neighbours. The dwellings of the opulent differed from ordinary houses only in having a court, called *αὐλή*, which was inclosed by the building, and in which the master of the family was accustomed to sacrifice. Tombs were regarded as sacred edifices; we must not, therefore, be surprised that Nicias, the celebrated painter, was willing to be employed in embellishing with his pencil a tomb before the city of Tritia, in Achaia. We must also consider how much emulation in art was fostered, when cities ri-

valled each other in the endeavour to obtain a beautiful statue, and when a whole people defrayed the expense of statues, not only to the gods, but also to the victors in the public games. Some few cities were known, even in ancient times, merely through one exquisite statue, — as Alipheira (9) by a Pallas in bronze, executed by Hecatodorus and Sostratus.

29. The arts of sculpture and painting attained among the Greeks a certain excellence earlier than architecture, because the latter has in it more of the ideal than the two former; it cannot be an imitation of any thing actual, and must therefore, of necessity, be based on the general principles and rules of proportion. The two former, which originated in mere imitation, found all the requisite rules determined in man; whereas architecture was obliged to discover its own rules by repeated trials, and establish them by general approval.

30. Sculpture, however, outstripped painting, and, like an elder sister, served as a guide to the younger. Pliny, indeed, is of opinion that painting had no existence at the date of the Trojan war. The Jupiter of Phidias and the Juno of Polycletus, the most perfect statues of antiquity, were in being before light and shadow had been introduced into painting. Apollodorus (10), and especially Zeuxis, his scholar, who were celebrated in the nineteenth Olympiad, are the first in whose pictures this improvement appears. Prior to this time, one must represent to himself the figures in paintings as statues placed near one another, which, except in the action of standing opposite to each other, appeared as single figures,

without being grouped so as to compose a whole, exactly in the style of the paintings on the (so called) Etruscan vases of burnt clay. According to Pliny, Euphranor, who was contemporary with Praxiteles, and therefore later still than Zeuxis, introduced symmetry into painting.

31. The reason of the slower growth of painting lies partly in the art itself, and partly in its use and application. Sculpture promoted the worship of the gods, and was in its turn promoted by it. But painting had no such advantage. It was, indeed, consecrated to the gods and temples; and some few of the latter, as that of Juno at Samos, were Pinacothecæ, or picture-galleries; at Rome, likewise, paintings by the best masters were hung up in the temple of Peace, that is, in the upper rooms or arches. But paintings do not appear to have been, among the Greeks, an object of holy, undoubting reverence and adoration. There is not, at least, among all those noticed by Pliny and Pausanias, a single one which obtained this honor, unless, perchance, an allusion to such a picture may be discovered in the passage from Philo in the note (11). Pausanias merely mentions a picture of Pallas in her temple at Tegea, which represented a Lectisternium (12) to the goddess.

32. Painting, however, is very much indebted to the custom among the ancients of embellishing their rooms with the pencil. This also was one of the causes to which the art owed its improvement in Italy, in our forefathers' times, before tapestry, a less costly covering of the walls, had displaced painting. The ancients likewise decorated their

rooms with geographical charts, — a mode of embellishment of which one may obtain an idea from the long and splendid topographical hall of the countries of Italy, in the Vatican.

33. Painting and sculpture stand to each other in the same relation as oratory and poetry. As the latter was regarded as more sacred than the former, was employed in religious offices, and specially remunerated, it arrived earlier at perfection; and this is partly the reason why, as Cicero says, there have been more good poets than orators. But we find that painters were also sculptors; as, among others, an Athenian painter, Mico, who made the statue of Callias of Athens; the distinguished painter, Euphranor, the contemporary of Praxiteles; Zeuxis, whose works in burnt clay stood at Ambracia; and Protogenes, who wrought in bronze; even Apelles made a statue of Cynisca, the daughter of Archidamus, king of Sparta. Sculptors have also been no less celebrated as architects. Polycletus built a theatre, at Epidaurus, which was dedicated to Æsculapius, and which stood within the inclosure of his temple.

34. All Greece may rightly be called the land of art; for though its favorite seat was in Athens, yet it was, nevertheless, practised also at Sparta. This city, in the oldest times, and prior to the Persian wars, sent to Sardis to purchase gold to gild the face of a statue of Apollo.

Such were the advantages which Greece had over other nations in art, and only such a soil could produce fruits so splendid.

CHAPTER II.

The Essential of Art.

1. We now pass from the first to the second division, that is, from the introductory notices, to the essential itself, of art among the Greeks, — just as their young men, after days of preparatory training for the great games, presented themselves in the Stadium before the eyes of the assembled nation, — not without anxious fears for the result. What has been said of the Egyptians and Etruscans, in the preceding books, may, indeed, be considered only as the prelude to the proper contest of the Stadium.

2. I imagine myself, in fact, appearing in the Olympic Stadium, where I seem to see countless statues of young, manly heroes, and two-horse and four-horse chariots of bronze, with the figures of the victors erect thereon, and other wonders of art. Indeed, my imagination has several times plunged me into such a reverie, in which I have likened myself to those athletes, since my essay is to be regarded as no less doubtful in its issue than theirs. I cannot but think of myself thus, when venturing on the enterprise of elucidating the principles and causes of so many works of art, visible around me, and of their lofty beauties; in which attempt, as in

the contests of beauty, I see before me, not one, but numerous enlightened judges.

3. I would not, however, wish this imaginary flight to Elis to be regarded as a mere poetic fancy. It will, on the contrary, be seemingly realized, if I conceive all the statues and images of which mention has been made by authors, and likewise every remaining fragment of them, together with the countless multitude of works of art which have been preserved, as present before me at the same time. Without collecting and uniting them so that a glance may embrace all, no correct opinion can be formed of them; but when the understanding and the eye assemble and set the whole together in one area, just as the choicest specimens of art stood ranged in numerous rows in the Stadium at Elis (1), then the spirit finds itself in the midst of them.

4. But as no intelligent man in modern days has ever penetrated to Elis, — to avail myself of the words which a skilful and learned antiquarian employed to stimulate me to this journey, — so writers upon art do not seem to have prepared themselves, as they should have done, to appear in the Stadium there, willing to give a well-grounded explanation of every thing, before a Proxenides. This censure I can maintain before those who have read the authors to whom I allude.

5. But how has it happened, that, whilst well-grounded elementary treatises on all other departments of knowledge exist, the principles of art and of beauty have been so little investigated? The fault, reader, lies in our innate indolent unwillingness to think for ourselves, and in scholastic philos-

ophy. On the one hand, the ancient works of art have been regarded as beauties which one can never hope fully to enjoy, and which on this account easily warm some imaginations, but do not touch the heart; and antiquities have given occasion for the display of reading only, but have ministered little nutriment, or absolutely none at all, to the understanding. On the other hand, philosophy has been practised and taught principally by those who, from reading the works of their gloomy predecessors, have but little room left for the feelings, over which they have, as it were, drawn an insensible cuticle, and we have consequently been led through a labyrinth of metaphysical subtilty and wordiness, which have principally served the purpose of producing big books, and disgusting the understanding.

6. For these reasons, art has been, and still is, excluded from philosophical consideration; and the great general truths which lead pleasantly to the investigation of beauty, and thence upward nearer to its source, not having been applied to and explained by the beautiful in particulars, have been lost in profitless speculation. How can I judge otherwise, even of treatises which have selected the highest object after the Deity, namely, Beauty, for their subject? I have meditated long upon it, but my meditations commenced too late, and in the brightest glow of mature life its essential has remained dark to me; I can speak of it, therefore, only feebly and spiritlessly. My exertions, however, may be an incentive to others to propose doctrines, not only more profound, but breathing the inspiration of the Graces.

7. It is my intention to treat first of the drawing of the nude figure, — which also comprehends that of animals; then of the drawing of clothed figures, and in particular of female drapery. The delineation of the nude figure is grounded on the knowledge and conceptions of beauty. These conceptions consist partly in measure and relations, and partly in forms, the beauty of which was the aim of the first Greek artists, as Cicero* says; the latter give shape to the figure, the former determine its proportions.

8. I shall, in the first place, speak of beauty in general, not only of forms, but also of attitude and gesture, together with proportion; and then of the beauty of single parts of the human body. In the general consideration of beauty, I shall, in some preliminary remarks, venture on an unusual view of it, that is, consider its negative character; and then present some definite ideas of it. It is, however, easier to say what it is not than what it is, as Cotta, in Cicero,† says of God. There is nearly the same relation between beauty and its opposite, as there is between health and disease; we feel the latter, but not the former.

9. Beauty, as the loftiest mark and the central point of art, demands some preliminary discussion, in which I should wish to satisfy both myself and the reader; but this is a wish of difficult gratification in either respect. When, after some general observations upon the art of design among the Greeks, I sought to advance farther into the examination of

* De Finib., lib. 2, cap. 34, *in fine*. † De Natura Deor., lib. 1, cap. 21.

it, Beauty seemed to beckon to me, — probably that same Beauty which exhibited herself to the great artists, and allowed herself to be felt, grasped, and figured, — for I have sought and longed to recognize her in their works. I cast my eyes down before this creation of my imagination, — as did those to whom the Highest appeared, — believing that I saw the Highest in this vision of my fancy. At the same time, I blushed for the confidence which had emboldened me to pry into her mysteries, and to treat of the loftiest conception of humanity, as I recalled to mind the fear which this undertaking formerly caused me. But the kind reception which my reflections have met encourages me to follow that invitation, and meditate further on beauty. With an imagination warmed by the desire of assembling all the single beauties which I had observed, and uniting them in one figure, I sought to create a poetic Beauty, and place her before me. But in this second trial and exertion of my powers, I have been again convinced that this is still more difficult than to find in human nature perfect beauty, if such can exist. For beauty is one of the great mysteries of nature, whose influence we all see and feel; but a general, distinct idea of its essential must be classed among the truths yet undiscovered. If this idea were geometrically clear, men would not differ in their opinions upon the beautiful, and it would be easy to prove what true beauty is; still less could there be one class of men of so unfortunate sensibility, and another of so perverse self-conceit, that the former would create for themselves a false beauty, and the latter refuse to receive a correct idea of true beauty, and say with En-

nius, *Sed mihi neutiquam cor consentit cum oculorum adspectu*, "But my heart does not assent to what my eyes behold."* It is less difficult to instruct the former than to convince the latter, whose doubts, being intended rather for the display of ingenuity, than carried to the extent of denying the reality of beauty, have, consequently, no influence upon art. These a glance should enlighten, especially in the presence of more than a thousand ancient works which have been preserved; but there is no remedy for insensibility, and we have no rule and canon of beauty according to which, as Euripides says, ugliness may be judged; and for this reason we differ about that which is beautiful, just as we differ about that which is truly good.

10. It ought not to create surprise, that our ideas of beauty are, as I have already observed, very different from those among the Chinese and Indian nations, when we reflect that we ourselves rarely agree in every particular respecting a beautiful face. Blue eyes are generally attracted by brown eyes, and brown eyes charmed by blue; and opinions differ about a beautiful person, just as inclinations differ in preferring fair or dark beauty. He who prefers dark to fair beauty is not on that account to be censured; indeed, one might approve his choice, if he is attracted less by sight than by the touch. For a dark-complexioned beauty may, perhaps, appear to have a softer skin than one of a fair complexion, because the fair skin reflects more rays of light, and of course must be denser, thicker, and consequently

* Cic. Lucull., cap. 17.

harsher, than a brown skin. Hence, a brown skin is to be regarded as the clearer, because this color, when natural, is occasioned by the blood showing through it, and from this very cause it is tanned more quickly than a fair skin; this is also the reason why the skin of the Moors is far softer to the touch than ours. A brown complexion in beautiful boys was, with the Greeks, an indication of courage; those of fair complexion were called children of the gods.

11. This difference of opinion is shown still more strongly in the judgment passed upon the beauties impersonated by art, than upon those in nature itself. For since the former excite less than the latter, so will they also — when they are designed after ideas of elevated beauty, and are more serious than gay — be less pleasing to the uninstructed mind than an ordinary pretty face which is lively and animated. The cause lies in our passions, which with most men are excited by the first look, and the senses are already gratified, when reason, unsatisfied, is seeking to discover and enjoy the charm of true beauty. It is not, then, beauty which captivates us, but sensuality. Consequently, young persons, in whom the passions are in a state of excitement and ferment, will look upon those faces as divine, which, though not strictly beautiful, have the charm of tender and passionate expression; and they will be less affected by a truly beautiful woman, even with the shape and majesty of Juno, whose gestures and actions evince modesty and decorum.

12. The ideas of beauty with most artists are formed from their first crude impressions, which are

seldom weakened or destroyed by loftier beauties, especially when they cannot improve their minds by recurring to the beauties of the ancients. For it is with drawing as with writing; few boys who learn to write are taught how the beauty of the letters consists in the nature of the strokes, and in the light and shadow in them, but they get a copy to imitate, without any further instruction, and the handwriting is formed before the pupil attends to the principles on which the beauty of the letters is founded. Most young persons learn to draw in precisely the same manner; and, as the writing-strokes remain in adult years just as they were formed in youth, so the designer's conceptions of beauty are commonly pictured in his own mind as his eye has been accustomed to observe and copy it; but they will be incorrect, because most artists draw from imperfect models.

13. It is also very probable that the idea of beauty, with artists as with all other men, is conformable to the texture and action of the nerves of sight. From the imperfect and frequently incorrect coloring of the painter, one must infer, in part, that the colors are so represented and pictured in his eye; for, in this particular, the conclusion at which the sect of Skeptics in philosophy arrived is not groundless, who argued, from the diversity in the color of the eyes both in beast and man, that our knowledge of the true colors of objects is uncertain. As the color of the humors of the eye might be regarded as the cause of this defect, so the different ideas of the forms which constitute beauty are probably dependent on the nature of the nerves. This

is conceivable from the innumerable kinds of fruits and the innumerable varieties of the same fruit, whose different shape and taste are elaborated through divers filaments, by the interlacing of which the tubes are woven, within which the sap ascends, is purified, and ripened. Now since there must exist a cause for the many different impressions made even upon those who are occupied in delineating them, the foregoing supposition may by no means be rejected.

14. In others, the climate has not allowed the gentle feeling of pure beauty to mature; it has either been confirmed in them by art, — that is, by constantly and studiously employing their scientific knowledge in the representation of youthful beauties, — as in Michael Angelo, or become in time utterly corrupted, as was the case with Bernini (2), by a vulgar flattery of the coarse and uncultivated, in attempting to render every thing more intelligible to them. The former busied himself in the contemplation of lofty beauty; this is evident from his poems, some of which have been published; in them his thoughts relative to it are expressed in elevated language, worthy of the subject. In powerful figures he is wonderful; but, from the cause before mentioned, his female and youthful figures are, in shape, action, and gesture, creatures of another world. Michael Angelo, compared with Raphael, is what Thucydides is to Xenophon. The very course which led Michael Angelo to impassable places and steep cliffs plunged Bernini, on the contrary, into bogs and pools; for he sought to dignify, as it were, by exaggeration,

forms of the most ordinary kind. His figures are those of vulgar people who have suddenly met with good fortune, and their expression is oftentimes opposed to the action, as when Hannibal laughed in the extremity of his grief. Yet this artist long held undisputed sway, and homage is paid to him even now. The eye also is as incorrect in many artists as in the uninstructed, and they do not depart from the truth in imitating the colors of objects, more than in the conformation of the beautiful. Baroccio, one of the most celebrated painters, who studied after Raphael, is distinguishable by his drapery, but still more by his profiles, in which the nose is commonly very much sunken. Pietro da Cortona is known by the chin of his heads, which is somewhat small, and flat at its lower part; and yet these are painters of the Roman school. In other Italian schools still more imperfect conceptions are observable.

15. Individuals of the second class — namely, those who question the correctness of all conceptions of beauty — found their doubts principally on the notions of the beautiful existing among remote nations, which must be different from ours, in conformity to the difference in the shape of their faces. Since many nations compare the complexion of their beauties with ebony, as we do with ivory, — and a dark-colored skin is more brilliant than a white skin, just as ebony has more gloss than any other wood, — so, it is argued, will they probably compare the forms of the face with the corresponding parts in beasts, which to us would appear deformed and ugly. I acknowledge

that, even in the faces of Europeans, forms similar to those of brutes can be found; and Otto van Been, the master of Rubens, has, according to Porta, written a special treatise in exposition of the fact. But it must also be conceded, that, the more striking this similarity in some few parts, so much the more does their form differ, partly by variation and partly by excess, from the characteristics of our race, thereby destroying the harmony, unity, and simplicity, in which beauty, as I shall show hereafter, consists.

16. The more oblique, for example, the eyes, as in cats, so much the more does their direction deviate from the fundamental form of the face, which is a cross, whereby it is divided equally, in length and breadth, from the crown of the head downward, since the perpendicular line passes through the middle of the nose, and the horizontal line through the orbits of the eyes. If the eye is placed obliquely, then the face is divided by a line oblique to the vertical line passing through the nose. This at least must be the true cause of the unseemliness of an obliquely situated mouth; for, if of two lines one deviates from the other without reason, a disagreeable impression is produced. Such eyes, therefore, when found among us, and in Chinese, Japanese, and some Egyptian heads, in profile, are a departure from the standard. The flattened nose of the Chinese, Calmucks, and other distant nations, is also a deviation, for it mars the unity of the forms according to which the other parts of the body have been shaped. There is no reason why the nose should be so much depressed,

should not much rather follow the direction of the forehead; just as, on the other hand, it would be an exception to the variety displayed in the human conformation, if the forehead and nose were formed by one straight bone, as in beasts. The projecting, swollen mouth which the negro has, in common with the monkey of his land, is a superfluous growth, caused by the heat of the climate, just as among us the lips swell up from heat, or a humid and harsh, salt air, and in some men, indeed, from violent anger. The small eyes of extreme northern and eastern nations make a part of the incompleteness of their growth, which is short and small.

17. Nature effects such conformations more generally, the nigher she approximates her extremes, and the more she has to contend either with heat or cold. Her productions, in the former case, are characterized by excess and prematureness; in the latter, her growths of every kind are immature. A flower withers beneath an excessive heat, and, in a cellar into which the sun never penetrates, it remains without color; indeed, plants degenerate in a close, dark place. But, in proportion as nature gradually draws nigher to her centre in a temperate climate, her productions are marked by more regularity of shape, as it has been shown in the third chapter of the first book. Consequently our ideas and those of the Greeks relative to beauty, being derived from the most regular conformation, are more correct than those that can possibly be formed by nations which, to adopt the thought of a modern poet, have lost one half of their like-

ness to the Creator; for, as Euripides says, what is not beautiful in itself can be beautiful nowhere.

18. But we ourselves differ as to beauty, — probably more than we do even in taste and smell, — whenever our ideas respecting it are deficient in clearness. It will not be easy to find a hundred men who would agree as to all the points of beauty in any one face, — I speak of those who have not thought profoundly on the subject. The handsomest man that I have seen in Italy was not the handsomest in the eyes of all, not even of those who prided themselves on being observant of the beauty of our sex. But those who have regarded and selected beauty as a worthy subject of reflection cannot differ as to the truly beautiful, for it is one only, and not manifold; and when they have studied it in the perfect statues of the ancients, they do not find, in the beautiful women of a proud and wise nation, those charms which are generally so much prized, — because they are not dazzled by the fairness of their skin. Beauty is felt by sense, but is recognized and comprehended by the understanding, which generally renders, and ought to render, sense less susceptible, but more correct. Most nations, however, and among them the most cultivated, not only of Europe, but of Asia and Africa, invariably agree as to the general form; consequently their ideas of it are not to be considered as arbitrarily assumed, although we are not able to account for them all.

19. Color assists beauty; generally, it heightens beauty and its forms, but it does not constitute it; just as the taste of wine is more agreeable, from

its color, when drunk from a transparent glass, than from the most costly golden cup. Color, however, should have but little share in our consideration of beauty, because the essence of beauty consists, not in color, but in shape, and on this point enlightened minds will at once agree. As white is the color which reflects the greatest number of rays of light, and consequently is the most easily perceived, a beautiful body will, accordingly, be the more beautiful the whiter it is, just as we see that all figures in gypsum, when freshly formed, strike us as larger than the statues from which they are made. A negro might be called handsome, when the conformation of his face is handsome. A traveller assures us that daily association with negroes diminishes the disagreeableness of their color, and displays what is beautiful in them; just as the color of bronze and of the black and greenish basalt does not detract from the beauty of the antique heads. The beautiful female head (3) in the latter kind of stone, in the villa Albani, would not appear more beautiful in white marble. The head of the elder Scipio, of dark-greenish basalt, in the palace Rospigliosi, is more beautiful than the three other heads, in marble, of the same individual. These heads, together with other statues in black stone, will meet with approbation even from the unlearned, who view them as statues. It is manifest, therefore, that we possess a knowledge of the beautiful, although in an unusual dress and of a disagreeable color. But beauty is also different from pleasingness or loveliness. We term a person lovely or pleasing, who, without

being beautiful, has the power to charm by demeanour, conversation, and understanding, also by youth, skin, and complexion. Aristotle calls such persons ἄνευ κάλλους ὡραῖοι, *charming without beauty;* and Plato says, ὡραίων προσώποις, καλῶν δὲ μή, *of pleasing, but not beautiful faces.*

20. Thus far, then, we have, as proposed, treated of beauty negatively; that is, by showing that the conceptions entertained of it are incorrect, we have separated from it attributes which it does not possess. A positive idea of it requires a knowledge of its essence, into which, except in a few cases, we have no power to look. We cannot proceed here, as in the greater number of philosophical investigations, after the mode used in geometry, which advances and concludes from generals to particulars and individuals, and from the nature of things to their properties, but we must satisfy ourselves with drawing probable conclusions merely from single pieces. But fear lest the following considerations upon beauty may be misconstrued must not disturb him who desires to instruct; for, as Plato and Aristotle, the teacher and scholar, entertained precisely opposite opinions as to the aim of tragedy, — the latter commending it as a purifier of the passions, and the former, on the contrary, describing it as a stimulus to them, — so it is possible that a harsh judgment may be pronounced on the most innocent intentions even of those who think correctly. I make this remark especially in regard to my treatise on the *Capability of the Perception of the Beautiful in Sculpture*, which suggested to some few individuals an opinion that certainly never entered into my thoughts.

21. Wise men who have meditated on the causes of universal beauty have placed it in the harmony of the creature with the purposes of its being, and of the parts with each other and with the whole, because they have investigated it in the works of creation, and have sought to reach even the source of the highest beauty. But, as this is synonymous with perfection, of which humanity is not a fit recipient, our idea of universal beauty is still indefinite; and it is formed within us by single acquisitions of knowledge, which, when they are collected and united together, give us, if correct, the highest idea of human beauty, — which we exalt in proportion as we are able to elevate ourselves above matter. Since, moreover, this perfection has been bestowed by the Creator on all his creatures, in a degree suitable to them, and every idea originates from a cause which must be sought, not in the idea itself, but in something else, so the cause of beauty cannot be found *out* of itself, since it exists *in* all created things. From this circumstance, and — as all our knowledge is made up of ideas of comparison — from the impossibility of comparing beauty with any thing higher than itself, arises the difficulty of a general and clear explanation of it.

22. The highest beauty is in God; and our idea of human beauty advances towards perfection in proportion as it can be imagined in conformity and harmony with that highest Existence which, in our conception of unity and indivisibility, we distinguish from matter. This idea of beauty is like an essence extracted from matter by fire; it seeks to beget unto itself a creature formed after the like-

ness of the first rational being designed in the mind of the Divinity. The forms of such a figure are simple and flowing, and various in their unity; and for this reason they are harmonious, just as a sweet and pleasing tone can be extracted from bodies the parts of which are uniform. All beauty is heightened by unity and simplicity, as is every thing which we do and say; for whatever is great in itself is elevated, when executed and uttered with simplicity. It is not more strictly circumscribed, nor does it lose any of its greatness, because the mind can survey and measure it with a glance, and comprehend and embrace it in a single idea; but the very readiness with which it may be embraced places it before us in its true greatness, and the mind is enlarged, and likewise elevated, by the comprehension of it. Every thing which we must consider in separate pieces, or which we cannot survey at once, from the number of its constituent parts, loses thereby some portion of its greatness, just as a long road is shortened by many objects presenting themselves on it, or by many inns at which a stop can be made. The harmony which ravishes the soul does not consist in arpeggios, and tied and slurred notes, but in simple, long-drawn tones. This is the reason why a large palace appears small, when it is overloaded with ornament, and a house large, when elegant and simple in its style.

23. From unity proceeds another attribute of lofty beauty, the absence of individuality; that is, the forms of it are described neither by points nor lines other than those which shape beauty merely,

and consequently produce a figure which is neither peculiar to any particular individual, nor yet expresses any one state of the mind or affection of the passions, because these blend with it strange lines, and mar the unity. According to this idea, beauty should be like the best kind of water, drawn from the spring itself; the less taste it has, the more healthful it is considered, because free from all foreign admixture. As the state of happiness — that is, the absence of sorrow, and the enjoyment of content — is the very easiest state in nature, and the road to it is the most direct, and can be followed without trouble and without expense, so the idea of beauty appears to be the simplest and easiest, requiring no philosophical knowledge of man, no investigation and no expression of the passions of his soul.

24. Since, however, there is no middle state in human nature between pain and pleasure, even according to Epicurus, and the passions are the winds which impel our bark over the sea of life, with which the poet sails, and on which the artist soars, pure beauty alone cannot be the sole object of our consideration; we must place it also in a state of action and of passion, which we comprehend in art under the term *Expression*. We shall, therefore, in the first place, treat of the shape of beauty, and in the second place, of expression.

25. The shape of beauty is either *individual*, — that is, confined to an imitation of one individual, — or it is a selection of beautiful parts from many individuals, and their union into one, which we call *ideal*, yet with the remark that a thing may be

ideal without being beautiful. The form of the Egyptian figures, in which neither muscles, tendons, nor veins are indicated, is ideal, but still it shapes forth no beauty in them; neither can the drapery of Egyptian female figures — which can only be imagined, and consequently is ideal — be termed beautiful.

26. The conformation of beauty commenced with individual beauty, with an imitation of a beautiful male form, even in the representation of the gods; and, in the blooming days of sculpture, the statues of goddesses were actually made after the likeness of beautiful women, even of those whose favors were venal(4); such was Theodote, of whom Xenophon speaks. On this point the ancients thought differently from us, insomuch that Strabo calls those women holy who had devoted themselves to the service of Venus on Mount Eryx; and an ode by the lofty Pindar, — in praise of Xenophon of Corinth, a thrice-crowned Olympic conqueror, — which was intended to be sung by young women dedicated to the public service of Venus, commences thus: — "Ye much delighting maids, and servants of persuasion in rich Corinth." *

27. The gymnasia and other places where the young exercised naked in athletic and other games, and which were the resort of those who desired to see beautiful youth, were the schools wherein the artist saw beauty of structure; and, from the daily opportunity of seeing it nude and in perfection, his imagination became heated, the beauty of

* Athen., lib. 13, cap. 4, p. 574.

the forms he saw became his own, and was ever present to his mind. At Sparta, even the young virgins exercised naked, or nearly so, in the games of the arena.

28. To each age, even as to the goddesses of the seasons, there belongs its peculiar beauty, but differing in degree. It is associated especially with youth, which it is the great effort of art to represent. Here, more than in manhood, the artist found the cause of beauty, in unity, variety, and harmony. The forms of beautiful youth resemble the unity of the surface of the sea, which at some distance appears smooth and still, like a mirror, although constantly in movement with its heaving swell. The soul, though a simple existence, brings forth at once, and in an instant, many different ideas; so it is with the beautiful youthful outline, which appears simple, and yet at the same time has infinitely different variations, and that soft tapering which is difficult of attainment in a column is still more so in the diverse forms of a youthful body. Among the innumerable kinds of columns in Rome, some appear preëminently elegant on account of this very tapering; of these I have particularly noticed two of granite, which I am always studying anew: just so rare is a perfect form, even in the most beautiful youth, which has a stationary point in our sex still less than in the female.

29. The forms of a beautiful body are determined by lines the centre of which is constantly changing, and which, if continued, would never describe circles. They are, consequently, more sim-

ple, but also more complex, than a circle, which, however large or small it may be, always has the same centre, and either includes others, or is included in others. This diversity was sought after by the Greeks in works of all kinds; and their discernment of its beauty led them to introduce the same system even into the form of their utensils and vases, whose easy and elegant outline is drawn after the same rule, that is, by a line which must be found by means of several circles, for all these works have an elliptical figure, and herein consists their beauty. The greater unity there is in the junction of the forms, and in the flowing of one out of another, so much the greater is the beauty of the whole.

30. From this great unity of youthful forms, their limits flow imperceptibly one into another, and the precise point of height of many, and the line which bounds them, cannot be accurately determined. This is the reason why the delineation of a youthful body, in which every thing is and is yet to come, appears and yet does not appear, is more difficult than that of an adult or aged figure. In the former of these two, the adult, nature has completed, and consequently determined, her work of formation; in the latter, she begins again to destroy the structure; in both, therefore, the junction of the parts is clearly visible. In youth, on the contrary, the conformation is, as it were, suspended between growth and maturity. To deviate from the outline in bodies having strongly developed muscles, or to strengthen or exaggerate the prominence of muscles or other parts, is not so

great an error as the slightest deviation in youthful figures, in which even the faintest shadow, as it is commonly said, becomes a body, just as a rule, though shorter or narrower than the requisite dimensions, still has all the properties of a rule, but cannot be called so if it deviates from a straight line; whoever misses the centre-white has missed as much as though he had not hit the target at all.

31. This consideration will establish the correctness of our opinion, and teach the ignorant better, who, in general, admire the art more in a figure where all the muscles and bones are distinctly shown, than in the simplicity of youth. Convincing proof of what I maintain is found in the engraved gems, and the copies from them, by which it is seen that aged heads are imitated by modern artists better and much more accurately than beautiful young heads. A connoisseur might probably doubt, at the first glance, as to the antiquity of an aged head upon an engraved gem; but he will be able to decide with more confidence upon the copy of a youthful ideal head. Although the celebrated Medusa in the museum Strozzi, at Rome, — which is, moreover, not a figure of the highest beauty, — has been copied, even in size, by the best modern artists, still the original can always be recognized. This is true, likewise, of the copies of the Pallas of Aspasius, though it has been engraved by several artists, and by Natter of the same size as the original.

32. It may be observed, that I speak here merely of the perception and impersonation of beauty in

its strict sense, not of science in design and skill in execution. In respect to the latter, more science can exist in, and be introduced into, vigorous than tender figures. The Laocoön is a much more learned work than the Apollo. Agesander, the sculptor of the principal figure in the group of the Laocoon, must, therefore, have been a far more skilful and complete artist than it was requisite for the sculptor of the Apollo to be. The latter, however, must have possessed a more elevated mind and more tender sensibilities; the Apollo has a sublimity which was not possible in the Laocoön.

33. But nature and the structure of the most beautiful bodies are rarely without fault. They have forms which can either be found more perfect in other bodies, or which may be imagined more perfect. In conformity to this teaching of experience, those wise artists, the ancients, acted as a skilful gardener does, who ingrafts different shoots of excellent sorts upon the same stock; and, as a bee gathers from many flowers, so were their ideas of beauty not limited to the beautiful in a single individual, — as at times are the ideas of both ancient and modern poets, and of the majority of artists of the present day, — but they sought to unite the beautiful parts of many beautiful bodies; this we learn also from the dialogue between Socrates and the celebrated painter Parrhasius. They purified their images from all personal feelings, by which the mind is diverted from the truly beautiful. Thus, personal affection makes Anacreon fancy that the eyebrows of his mistress, which are to be imperceptibly separated from one another, are beauti-

ful, like the joined eyebrows (5) of her whom the Daphnis of Theocritus loved. One of the later Greek poets, in his *Judgment of Paris*, has probably from the passages just quoted derived the idea of this form of the eyebrows, which he assigns to the most beautiful of the three goddesses. The conceptions of the beautiful entertained by our sculptors, and even by those who pretend to imitate the antique, are individual and limited, when they select, as a model of great beauty, the head of the Antinous, in which the eyebrows are turned downwards, imparting to his face a somewhat harsh and melancholy expression.

34. Bernini expressed a very superficial opinion, when he pronounced the story of the selection of the most beautiful parts, made by Zeuxis from five beautiful women of Crotona, on being employed to paint a Juno there, an absurd invention, because he fancied that a particular part or limb would suit no other body than that to which it belonged. Others have been unable to think of any but individual beauties; and their dogma is, that the antique statues are beautiful because they resemble beautiful nature, and nature will always be beautiful whenever she resembles those beautiful statues. The former position is true, not singly, but collectively; the second, on the contrary, is false; for it is difficult, indeed almost impossible, to find in nature a figure like that of the Apollo of the Vatican.

35. This selection of the most beautiful parts and their harmonious union in one figure produced ideal beauty, — which is therefore no metaphysical abstraction; so that the ideal is not found

in every part of the human figure taken separately, but can be ascribed to it only as a whole; for beauties as great as any of those which art has ever produced can be found singly in nature, but, in the entire figure, nature must yield the palm to art.

The conception of high or ideal beauty is, as I have observed, not equally clear to all, and one might suppose, from remarks made on the Ideal, that it can be formed only in the mind. By the Ideal is to be understood merely the highest possible beauty of the whole figure, which can hardly exist in nature in the same high degree in which it appears in some statues; and it is an error to apply the term to single parts, in speaking of beautiful youth. Even Raphael and Guido seem to have fallen into the mistake alluded to, if we can judge from what both have expressed in their letters. The former, when about to paint the Galatea, in the palace Farnesina, writes to his friend, the distinguished Count Balthazar Castiglione, in the following terms: —"In order to select a beautiful woman, one must see those who are more beautiful; but, as beautiful women are rare, I make use of a certain image supplied by my imagination." But the conception of the head of his Galatea is common; women of greater beauty are to be found everywhere. Moreover, the figure is so disposed, that the breast, the most beautiful part of the naked female form, is completely covered by one arm, and the knee which is in view is much too cartilaginous for a person of youthful age, to say nothing of a divine Nymph. When Guido was preparing to paint his Archan-

gel Michael, he wrote to a Roman prelate, — "I should like to give to the figure I am about to paint beauty such as that which dwells in Paradise, irradiated by the glories of heaven; but I have not yet been able to rise so high, and I have sought it in vain on earth." Nevertheless, his Archangel is less beautiful than some young men whom I have known, and still know. But if Raphael and Guido failed of finding beauty, — the former in the female, and the latter in the male sex, — such as they deemed worthy of the Galatea and the Archangel, as appears from the autograph papers of those artists, then I do not hesitate to say that the opinion of both was the result of inattention to that which is beautiful in nature. I am, indeed, bold enough to assert that I have seen faces quite as perfect in conformation as those which our artists regard as models of lofty beauty.

36. The attention which the Greek artists paid to the selection of the most beautiful parts from numberless beautiful persons did not remain limited to male and female youths alone, but their observation was directed also to the conformation of eunuchs, for whom boys of handsome shape were chosen. Those equivocal beauties effected by the removal of the seminal vessels — in which the masculine characteristics approximated, in the superior delicacy of the limbs, and in greater plumpness and roundness generally, to the softness of the female sex — were first produced among the Asiatics, for the purpose, as Petronius says, of retarding the rapid career of fleeting youth. Among the Greeks in Asia Minor, boys and youths of this kind were

consecrated to the service of Cybele, and the Diana of Ephesus. The Romans also attempted to check the appearance of the garniture of manhood by washing the chin and other parts with a decoction of hyacinth roots, made by boiling them in sweet wine.

The ancient artists must have observed this ideal development of youth piecemeal in eunuchs, since their conformation varies according to the earlier or later age at which they are removed into that state of ambiguous nature. Their form is, nevertheless, always distinct, as well from that of man, as that of woman; it is intermediate between the two. This difference is fully apparent in the hands of these persons, which, when they are beautifully formed by nature, have a shape that merits the attention of him who studies beauty in all parts. It would not be possible, however, to point it out by description, except very imperfectly. It is, on the other hand, more manifest in the hips and back. The former, as well as the latter, are feminine; that is, the hips are fuller and have a greater breadth, and the spinal column lies less deeply, than with males, so that fewer muscles are distinguishable; and hence the back shows more unity in its shape, as with women. As in women, so in eunuchs, the region over the *os sacrum*, termed the posteriors, is large, broad, and flat.

37. The ancient sculptors denoted the eunuch form, in the hitherto unobserved figures of the priests of Cybele, by the female hips just mentioned. This breadth of hip is distinguishable even beneath the drapery of a figure of this kind, of the size of

life, which has been sent to England. It represents a boy of about twelve years of age, with a short vest. The Phrygian cap led some persons to believe that they recognized in it a Paris, and, when it was repaired, an apple was placed in its right hand as a characteristic symbol. An inverted torch, and of the very kind which was used at sacrifices and in religious offices, rests at the feet of the figure, against a tree, and appears to indicate its true signification. The shape of the hips of another priest of Cybele, on a mutilated work in relief, is feminine to such a degree, that the most skilful sculptor in Rome was led, from this circumstance alone, to regard this figure as belonging to the female sex. But the whip in its hand indicates a priest of Cybele, because these emasculates scourged themselves; and the figure in question stands before a tripod. These figures, and a relievo at Capua representing an Archigallus, that is, the superior of the eunuch-priests here referred to, will give us some notion of the celebrated picture by Parrhasius, which was a portrait of a person of this description, and was therefore called Archigallus. The priests of Diana at Ephesus, also, were eunuchs, but not one of them, so far as it is known, has been found represented on the ancient works.

38. In this respect the ancient artists have risen to the ideal, not only in the conformation of the face, but also in the youthful figures of certain gods, as Apollo and Bacchus. This ideal consists in the incorporation of the forms of prolonged youth in the female sex with the masculine forms

of a beautiful young man, which they consequently made plumper, rounder, and softer, in admirable conformity with their ideas of their deities. For to some of these the ancients gave both sexes, blended with a mystic significance in one, as may be seen even in a small Venus of bronze, in the museum of the Roman College. This commingling is especially peculiar to Apollo and Bacchus.

39. Art went still farther; it united the beauties and attributes of both sexes in the figures of hermaphrodites. The great number of hermaphrodites, differing in size and position, shows that artists sought to express in the mixed nature of the two sexes an image of higher beauty; this image was ideal. Without entering into any inquiry how hermaphrodites may be constituted, on the supposition of the actual existence of creatures called by this name, — like the philosopher Favorinus, of Arles, in France, according to Philostratus, — every artist cannot have an opportunity of seeing so rare a deviation of nature; and hermaphrodites, like those produced by sculpture, are probably never seen in real life. All figures of this kind have maiden breasts, together with the male organs of generation; the form in other respects, as well as the features of the face, is feminine. Besides the two recumbent statues of hermaphrodites (6) in the grand-ducal gallery at Florence, and the still more celebrated and beautiful one in the villa Borghese, there is a small upright figure, not less beautiful, in the villa Albani, of which the right arm rests upon the head. In selecting the most beautiful parts from the ancient

statues, one would have to take a female back from the beautiful hermaphrodite in the villa Borghese.

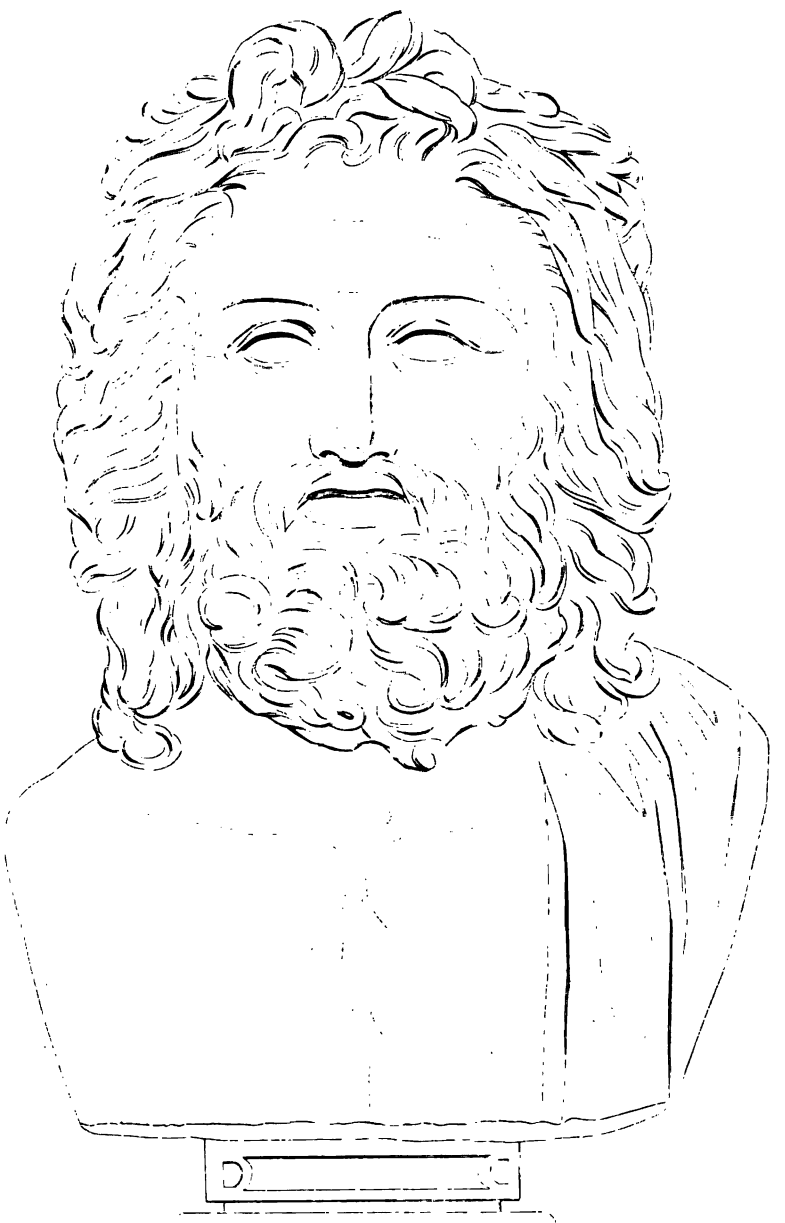
40. Next to the selection and harmonious union and incorporation of single parts, of superior beauty, from different conformations of the human figure, the study of artists in producing ideal beauties was directed to the nature of the nobler beasts, so that they not only instituted comparisons between the forms of the human countenance and the shape of the head of certain animals, but they even undertook to adopt from animals the means of imparting greater majesty and elevation to their statues. This remark, which might at first sight seem absurd, will strike profound observers as indisputably correct, especially in the heads of Jupiter and Hercules. For, on examining the conformation of the father and king of the gods, it is seen that his head has the complete aspect of that of the lion, the king of beasts, not only in the large round eyes (7), in the fulness of the prominent, and, as it were, swollen forehead, and in the nose, but also in the hair, which hangs from his head like the mane of the lion, first rising upward from the forehead, and then, parting on each side into a bow, again falling downward.* This is not such

* Plates 1 and 2 represent the eyes, forehead, and arrangement of the hair of Jupiter. The head from which Plate 1 was engraved formerly adorned the façade of the villa Medici; it was afterwards carried to Florence, to be set up in the garden Boboli. — Germ. Ed.

The engraving of Plate 2 was executed by Mr. J. Andrews of this city, from a drawing, also by himself, of a cast in the Boston Athenæum, which is supposed to be a Jupiter of Phidias. The engravings of the Jupiter of Otricoli in the *Pio-Clement Museum* (Vol. VI., Plate

PL. I.





an arrangement of the hair as belongs to man; it is peculiar to the animal in question. In the statues of Hercules, the make of a powerful bull is seen in the relation of the head to the neck; the former is smaller, and the latter larger, than is usual in the human figure, and they stand just in that proportion to each other which the head of a bull bears to the neck, — in order to express in this hero a preternatural vigor and strength. One might, indeed, say, that even the short hairs on the forehead of Hercules, as an allegorical figure, may have been copied from those on the forehead of that animal.

1) and in the *Musée François* did not satisfy my wishes, and any reader who will take the trouble to make a comparison will, I think, concede the superiority in breadth of outline, nobleness of forms, and majesty of expression, to the engraving before him. — Tr.

HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART.

BOOK V.

ART AMONG THE GREEKS.

(CONTINUED.)

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(CONTINUED.)

CHAPTER I.

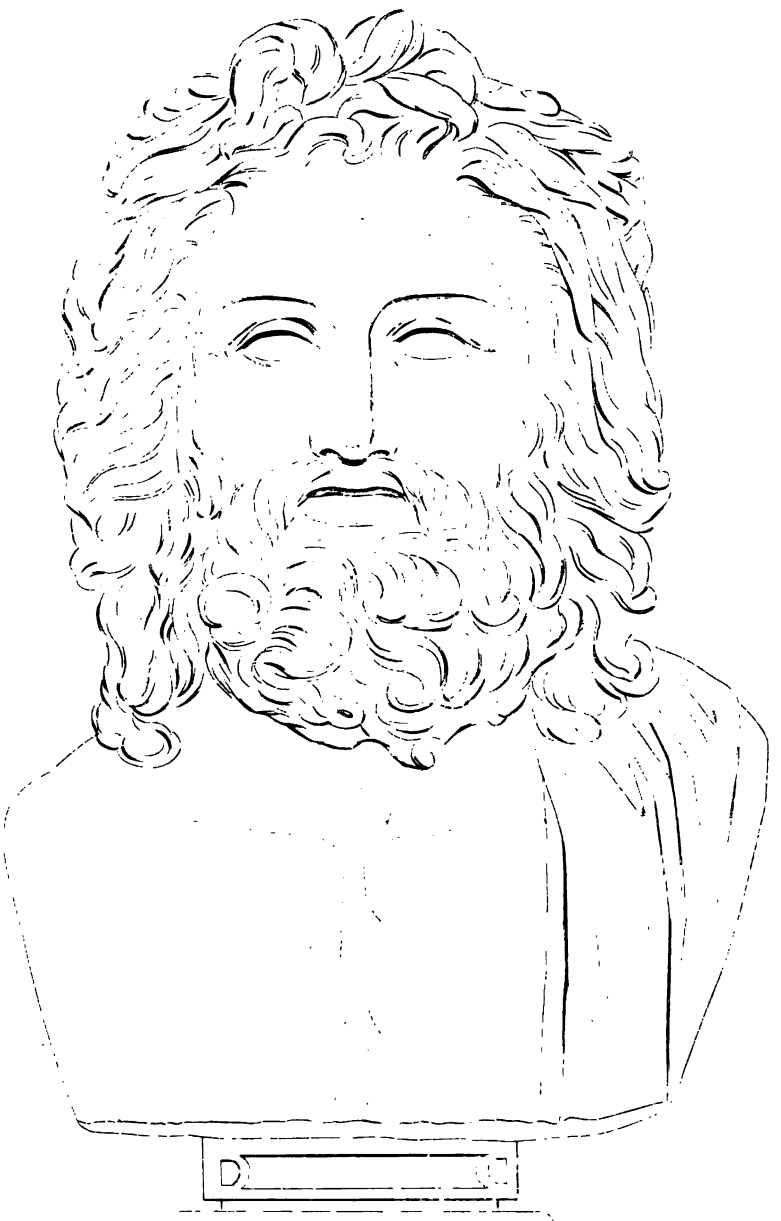
The Conformation and Beauty of the Male Deities and Heroes.

1. THE most beautiful forms, thus selected, were, in a manner, blended together, and from their union issued, as by a new spiritual generation, a nobler progeny, of which no higher characteristic could be conceived than never-ending youth, — a conclusion to which the consideration of the beautiful must necessarily lead. For the mind, in rational beings, has an innate tendency and desire to rise above matter into the spiritual sphere of conceptions, and its true enjoyment is in the production of new and refined ideas. The great artists among the Greeks — who regarded themselves almost as creators, although they worked less for the understanding than for the senses — sought to overcome the hard resistance of matter, and, if possible, to endue it with life, with soul. This

PL. I



PL. II.



probable that the original of them was the celebrated Satyr of Praxiteles, which was in Athens, and was regarded by the artist himself as his best work(4). The next most distinguished artists in this kind of figures were Pratinas and Aristias(5) of Phlius, not far from Sicyon, together with one Æschylus. Sometimes these Satyrs had a laughing countenance, and warts pendent beneath the jaw(6), like goats.* Of this kind is one of the most beautiful heads of antiquity(7), in respect to execution; it was formerly in the possession of the distinguished Count Marsigli, but now stands in the villa Albani. The beautiful Barberini sleeping Faun is no ideal, but an image of simple, unconstrained nature. A modern writer(8), who sings and speaks of painting in poetry and prose, could never have seen an antique figure of a Faun, and must have been ill informed by others, when he states, as a well-known fact, that the Greek artists selected the shape of the Fauns for the purpose of representing heavy and sluggish proportions, and that they may be known by their large heads, short necks, high shoulders, small and narrow chests, thick thighs and knees, and misshapen feet. Is it possible that any one can form notions so low and false of the sculptors of antiquity? It is a heresy in art, first hatched in the brain of this author. I do not know that he was obliged, like Cotta, in Cicero, to say what a Faun is.

7. The young Satyrs or Fauns are all beautiful, without exception, and so shaped, that each one of

* Plate 3, a, a.

them, if it were not for the head, might be mistaken for an Apollo, especially for that Apollo called Σαυροκτόνος (Lizard-killer), the position of whose legs is that common to the Fauns. Among the many statues of this kind, two in the palace Ruspoli have been preserved uninjured. In one head of a young Faun, the artist has risen above the usual idea, and given an image of high beauty, over which an inexpressible sweetness is diffused. He appears to be in a quiet rapture, which shows itself particularly in the half-closed mouth. The upper part of the ears, which should be pointed, is concealed by the hair; this likewise has not the usual stiffness, but is disposed in lovely waves. A Faun would never have been recognized in this head, if it had not been for the addition of small horns, which are beginning to shoot forth on both sides of the forehead. If the arrangement of the hair warranted it, this image might represent a young Bacchus with horns. This head, of which mention has been made in the accounts of the latest discoveries at Herculaneum, is now in the author's possession.

8. The older Satyrs or Sileni, and that Silenus in particular who educated Bacchus, have, in serious figures, not a single trait inclining to the ludicrous, but they are beautiful bodies in the full ripeness of age, just as the statue of Silenus holding the young Bacchus in his arms (9), in the villa Borghese, represents them.* This figure is precisely similar to two others, in the villa Ruspoli, of which only one

* Plate 4. This engraving is made after a statue in the Pio-Clement museum, which is exactly like that in the Borghese villa (10). — Tr.



has an antique head. Silenus either has a joyous face and a curly beard, as in the statues just mentioned, or, as in other figures, he appears as the teacher of Bacchus, in philosophic form, with a long and venerable beard, which falls in soft waves down upon his breast, just as we see him in the oft-repeated reliefs known under the highly erroneous appellation of the "Repast of Trimalchion." I have presented this idea of Silenus, confined exclusively to serious figures, for the purpose of obviating the objection which might be made, that he is uncommonly corpulent, and rides reelingly upon an ass, and is thus represented on different raised works.*

9. As the common idea entertained of the Satyrs or Fauns is usually erroneous, so it has happened with Silenus; I should say, with the Sileni, for the ancients said *Σιληνοί*, in the plural number. Since one generally thinks of Silenus as an old, exceedingly corpulent, and slouching personage, always intoxicated, sometimes reeling, and sometimes sinking down and falling from his ass, and usually leaning for support upon Satyrs, as he is ordinarily represented, it has been found difficult to reconcile with such a figure the foster-father and instructor of Bacchus, which he actually was. This misconception is the reason why the statue of Silenus with the young Bacchus in his arms, standing in the villa Borghese, has been supposed to be a Saturn, because the figure resembles an ancient hero; yet its true signification ought to have been recog-

* Plate 5. This engraving is also made after a statue in the Pio-Clement museum (11). — Tr.

nized by the pointed ears, and the ivy about the head.

10. The principal of these deities of a lower order is Pan. Pindar calls him the most perfect of the gods. Of the conformation of his face we have hitherto had either no idea at all, or a very erroneous one. I believe, however, that I have discovered it, in a head crowned with ivy, on a beautiful coin of Antigonus the First. The countenance is serious, and the beard full and shaggy, resembling the hair of a goat; hence Pan is called Φριξοκόμης, "bristly-haired." Of this coin I will give some further account hereafter (in the second chapter of the tenth book). Another head of this deity, not more known, but executed with greater skill, is to be found in the Capitoline museum (12). He is more easily recognized by the pointed ears in this than in the former figure. The beard, on the other hand, is less stiff; it resembles that on some heads of philosophers, the deeply thoughtful expression of whose faces lies particularly in the eyes, — which are sunken, after the manner of those of Homer. An engraving of this head will appear in the third volume of my *Ancient Monuments.* The god Pan was not always represented with the feet of a goat, for a Greek inscription mentions a figure of him, of which the head resembled the usual one with goat's horns, whilst the body and chest were shaped in imitation of those of Hercules, and the feet were winged like Mercury's.

11. The highest conception of ideal male beauty is especially expressed in the Apollo, in whom the strength of adult years is found united with the



soft forms of the most beautiful spring-time of youth. These forms are large in their youthful unity, and not those of a minion wandering about in cool shades, and whom Venus, as Ibycus says, has reared on roses, but befitting a noble youth, destined to noble purposes. Hence Apollo was the most beautiful among the gods. Health blooms in his youth, and strength manifests itself, like the ruddiness of morning on a beautiful day. I do not, however, mean to say that all statues of Apollo possess this lofty beauty, for even the Apollo of the villa Medici (13), so highly prized by our sculptors, and so frequently copied, too, in marble, is, if I may make the remark without offence, of a beautiful shape, as a whole, but in single parts, as the knees and legs, is inferior to the best.

12. I could wish, in this place, to describe beauty, the like of which can hardly have had human origin. It is a winged Genius (14), in the villa Borghese, of the size of a well-made youth. If the imagination, filled with the single beauties everywhere displayed in nature, and occupied in the contemplation of that beauty which flows from God and leads to God, were to shape, during sleep, a vision of an angel, whose countenance was brightened by the divine effulgence, and whose form was seemingly an effluence from the source of the highest harmony, — in such a form let the reader set before himself this lovely image. It might be said, that nature, with God's approval, had fashioned it after the beauty of the angels (15).

13. The most beautiful head of Apollo, next to that of the Belvedere, as it appears to me, belongs

to a sitting statue of this god, larger than life, in the villa Ludovisi. It is quite as uninjured as that of the Belvedere, and more conformable to our idea of Apollo, as a benignant and gentle deity. This statue, which has been but little noticed, deserves remark, as the only one having a shepherd's crook, an emblem ascribed to Apollo. It lies on the stone on which the figure is sitting, and shows that Apollo the shepherd, Νόμιος, is represented here, — with especial reference to his service, in this capacity, with Admetus, king of Thessaly.

14. From the head of a statue of Apollo in the villa Belvedere, at Frascati, likewise from the bust with the uninjured head in the galleries of the Conservatori of the Capitol (16), and also from two other heads of the same deity, — one of which is in the Capitoline museum, and the other in the Farnesina, — one can get an idea of that style of arranging the hair which the Greeks termed κρωβύλος, and of which there remains no clear description. This word, when applied to young men, has the same signification as κόρυμβος in the case of young maidens, that is, hair collected in a knot on the back part of the head. With young men, the hair was smoothed upwards around the head, and then gathered together on the crown, without any visible band to confine it. The hair is knotted together in precisely the same manner on the head of a female figure, — in one of the most beautiful of the pictures from Herculaneum, — which is resting on one knee, near a tragic personage, and writing on a tablet.

15. This similarity of head-dress, in both sexes, may be some excuse for those who have given the name of Berenice to a beautiful bust of Apollo, of bronze, in the Herculaneum museum, which has the hair thus smoothed upward, and perfectly resembles in idea the four heads of Apollo just mentioned, — especially since these last could not have been known to them; but the ground for the appellation — namely, a medal of this Egyptian queen, on which is an impression of a female head with the hair thus arranged, together with the name of Berenice — is not sufficient. For all heads and statues of Amazons, all figures of Diana, indeed all figures of virgins, have the hair smoothed upward. Now, as the braids on the hinder part of the head on the medal are twisted into a knot, after the invariable custom of virgins, it is impossible that a married queen can be represented by it. I am, therefore, of opinion, that the head on the coin is a Diana, notwithstanding the name Berenice stamped around it.

16. The youth which is so beautiful in Apollo advances to maturer years in other youthful gods, and becomes manly in Mercury and Mars. Mercury* is distinguished by a particular delicacy of countenance, which Aristophanes would have called Ἀττικὸν βλέπος, an Attic look, and his hair is short and curly. Mention has already been made of fig-

* Plate 6. From a bust in white marble, of about the size of life, and the loveliest and most beautiful of all the heads of this deity yet known. It is probably to be found among the antiques of the Duke of Buccleuch. — Germ. Ed.

ures of him with a beard, on Etruscan works, and by the earliest Greek artists (17).

17. The modern artist who restored the head and a portion of the chest of another Mercury (18), of the size of life, embracing a young maiden, in the garden behind the palace Farnese, has given him a strong beard. For a long time this circumstance surprised me, as I could not imagine whence he got the idea. It cannot be supposed, that, even if he had been acquainted with the Etruscan manner of representing him, he would have been willing to introduce such a scrap of antique erudition in an enamoured Mercury. I rather believe that he was induced to it by some learned scholar, who used the occasion to realize his understanding of the word ὑπηνήτη, in Homer, which he erroneously supposed to mean, "having a strong beard." The poet says, that Mercury, when about to accompany Priam to Achilles, assumed the form of a young man, πρῶτον ὑπηνήτη, which signifies "the age when the covering of the chin first begins to show itself," and can be predicated of a young man in the brightest bloom of life, that is, when the down first appears on the cheeks, which Philostratus, in speaking of Amphion, calls ἴουλον παρὰ τὸ οὖς, "the down beside the ear." Mercury is also represented in the same manner by Lucian. The young maiden with whom he is dallying does not appear to be Venus, who, according to Plutarch, is usually represented near this god, — in order to signify that the enjoyment of the pleasures of love must be accompanied by gentle words. On looking at the tender age of this figure, it might rather be supposed to be

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… (17).
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… of another Mercury (18),
… a young maiden, in
… Terrace, has given
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… it cannot be supposed,
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… ving him, he would
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… to it by some learned
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… ἐπηβόλη, in Homer, which he er-
… to mean, "having a strong beard."
… that Mercury … on about to accom-
… Vulcan … the form of a young
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… …pear to be Venus, who,
… …, is usually represented near
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PL. VI.



either Proserpine, who had three daughters by Mercury; or the nymph Lara, mother of the two Lares; or perhaps Acacallis, daughter of Minos; or Herse, one of the daughters of Cecrops, by whom also Mercury had children. I am inclined to favor the last conjecture, because I suppose that this group was discovered on the Appian Way, together with the two celebrated columns which stood by the tomb of Regilla, wife of Herod Atticus, on the same spot, and which were formerly in the palace Farnese. The ground of my conjecture is the inscription on the tomb, which is now in the villa Borghese, in which it is stated that Herod Atticus derives his descent from Ceryx, son of Mercury and Herse; I believe, therefore, that this group stood in that tomb. — I take this occasion to remark, that the only statue of Mercury, in which the usual antique purse in the left hand has been preserved, lies in the cellar of the palace of the villa Borghese (19).

18. Mars is commonly found represented as a young hero, and without beard, as one of the ancient authors also testifies. But it never occurred to any sculptor of ancient times to represent him as the writer * whom I have already censured would have him represented, that is, as one in whom every fibre, even the smallest, may express strength, boldness, and the fire which animates him. Such a Mars is not to be found in the entire range of antiquity. The three figures of him that are best known are a sitting statue (20), with Cupid

* Watelet, Art de Peindre, chant 1, p. 13.

at its feet, in the villa Ludovisi, — in which, as in all figures of deities, there is neither sinew nor vein visible, — a small figure on one of the bases of the two beautiful marble candelabra which were in the palace Barberini (21), and a third on the round work in the Capitol, described in the second chapter of the third book. The last two are standing. All three are of youthful age, and in a quiet position and action. He is represented as such a young hero on medals and engraved gems. But, if a bearded Mars (22) is to be found on other medals and gems, I should be almost of opinion that this latter figure may represent that Mars whom the Greeks call *Ἐνυάλιος*; he was distinct from the other, and was his inferior and assistant.

19. Hercules is likewise represented in the most beautiful youth, with features which leave the distinction of sex almost doubtful (23), as the beauty of a young man should be, according to the opinion of the complaisant Glycera. He is represented in this manner, in an engraving on a carnelian belonging to the Stosch museum. But, generally, his forehead projects with a roundish fat fulness, which arches,* and, as it were, puffs out, the upper bone of the socket of the eye, — to signify his strength, and his constant toil in sadness which, as the poet says, makes the heart swell.

20. Hercules is distinguishable particularly by his hair, which is short, curly, and smoothed upwards

* Plate 7, A, is intended, as far as an outline can, to give an idea of the forms of the forehead and the arrangement of the hair of that head of Hercules of which mention is made in note 27; in the marble, however, the forms are more blended, and the transitions softer. — Germ. Ed.

A.



B



over the forehead. This characteristic is especially useful in a young Hercules; for I have remarked that, by the absence of such a disposition of the hair, the heads of young heroes, which might otherwise have been taken for heads of Hercules, have been instantly distinguished. From my observation of the hair generally, and particularly over the forehead of Hercules, I cannot consent to call by this name the fragment of a small figure which, on account of some similarity in the heads, is now in process of restoration as a Hercules. But since this single head cannot be an exception to the general rule, I should be inclined to regard the figure, inasmuch as it has the ears of a Pancratiast,* as representing a philosopher who had been an athlete in his younger days, as Lycon was. This admirable work, which was carried to England some years ago, and again brought back to Rome, was repaired for General von Wallmoden, of Hanover.

21. The second kind of ideal youth is drawn from the conformation of eunuchs. It is represented, blended with masculine youth, in Bacchus.† He appears under this form, at different ages, until he attains his full growth, and, in the most beautiful statues, always with delicate, round limbs, and the full, expanded hips of the female sex, for, according to the fable, he was brought up as a maiden. Pliny, indeed, mentions a statue of a Satyr holding a figure of Bacchus clothed as a Venus; hence Seneca also describes him, in shape, gait, and

* Plate 8, B. See Book V., ch. v., § 30.

† See frontispiece, and plate 9, a profile of the head in the frontispiece. Note 25 gives a further account of this lovely head. — GERM. ED.

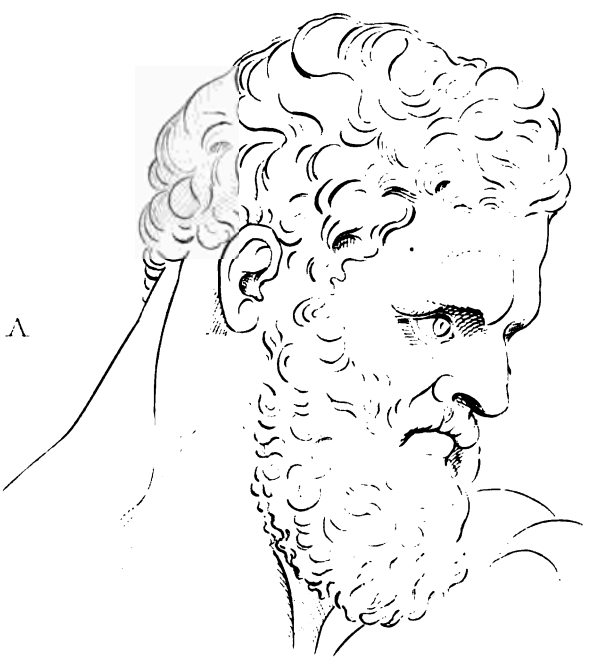
dress, as a disguised virgin. The forms of his limbs are soft and flowing, as though inflated by a gentle breath, and with scarcely any indication of the bones and cartilages of the knees, just as these joints are formed in youths of the most beautiful shape, and in eunuchs. The type of Bacchus is a lovely boy who is treading the boundaries of the spring-time of life and adolescence, in whom emotions of voluptuousness, like the tender shoots of a plant, are budding, and who, as if between sleeping and waking, half rapt in a dream of exquisite delight, is beginning to collect and verify the pictures of his fancy; his features are full of sweetness, but the joyousness of his soul is not manifested wholly upon his countenance (24).

22. The ancient artists have retained this quiet joyousness in Bacchus, even when represented as a hero or warrior, on his Indian campaigns, as it appears from an armed figure of him, on an altar in the villa Albani, and on a mutilated relievo in my possession. It is from this consideration, probably, that this deity is never represented in company with Mars, — for Bacchus is not one of the twelve superior deities; and hence Euripides says, that Mars is unfriendly to the Muses, and to the merriment of the festivals of Bacchus. It may be observed in this connection, that Apollonius gives a coat of mail even to Apollo, as the Sun. In some statues of Apollo, his conformation is very similar to that of Bacchus; of this kind is the Apollo negligently leaning, as if against a tree, with a swan below him, in the Campidoglio, and three similar, yet more beautiful, figures in the

B



A



villa Medici; for, in one of these divinities, both were occasionally worshipped, and one was taken for the other.

23. Here I can scarcely refrain from tears, when I think of a Bacchus, once mutilated, but now restored, in the villa Albani, originally nine palms high (6¾ ft. Eng.), to which the antique head, breast, and arms are wanting. He is draped from the middle of the body to the feet, or, to speak more correctly, his garment or mantle, which is ample, has fallen down, and is gathered in rich folds about his hips, and that portion of it which would otherwise lie upon the ground is thrown over the branch of a tree, about which ivy has crept, and a serpent is twisted. No single figure gives one so high an idea of what Anacreon terms a belly of Bacchus.

24. The head of Bacchus which possesses the highest beauty belongs to a restored statue, somewhat larger than nature, which has gone to England. The face exhibits an indescribable blending of male and female beautiful youth, and a conformation intermediate between the two sexes, which will be perceived by an attentive observer. This head will be recognized, by any one who looks for it in its present location, by a fillet around the forehead, and by the absence of the usual crown of vine-leaf or ivy.

One cannot but be astonished that the best artists, even in Rome, after the restoration of art, entertained so erroneous ideas of the person of Bacchus. The best painter now living in Rome, when he was asked how this deity appeared to Ariadne, represented him of a brownish-red color (25).

25. Bacchus was worshipped not only under a youthful form, but also under the form of manhood. The latter, however, is distinguished solely by a long beard, so that the countenance, in its hero-expression, and softness of features, presents an image of the joyousness of youth. The intention of the artist, in representing him in this form, was to show him as on his campaign in India, when he suffered his beard to grow; and such an image of him presented an opportunity to the ancient artists to exhibit, partly, a peculiar ideal, — manliness blended with youth, — and partly, their art and skill in the execution of the hair. Of the heads and busts of this Indian Bacchus the most celebrated are those crowned with ivy, on silver coins from the island of Naxos,* the reverse side of which represents Silenus with a bowl in his hand; and, in marble, a head in the palace Farnese, which passes very erroneously under the name of Mithridates. But the most beautiful of these heads is a Hermes (26), belonging to the sculptor Cavaceppi, the hair and beard of which are executed with infinite skill.

26. The full-length figures of the Indian Bacchus, when in an upright position, are always draped, even to the feet; they have been represented on works of every kind, and, among others, on two beautiful marble vases ornamented with raised work, of which the smaller is to be found in the palace Farnese; the larger and more beautiful one, in the Herculaneum museum. But these figures

* Plate 10. See note 25. Figures B, B, represent the eyes of Bacchus, denoting the effeminacy of his character. — Germ. Ed.

PL. IX.



are still oftener seen represented on engraved stones, and on vases of burnt clay, of which I will mention here one from the Porcinari collection, at Naples; an engraving of it may be seen in the first volume of the Hamilton work; it exhibits a sitting bearded Bacchus, crowned with laurel, as a conqueror, in an elegantly embroidered dress.

27. Ideal beauty, however, exists not only in the spring-time of life, and in youthful or female figures, but also in manhood, to which the ancient artists, in the statues of their deities, imparted the joyousness and freshness of youth. In Jupiter, Neptune, and an Indian Bacchus, the beard and venerable head-hair are the sole marks of age; it is not denoted either by wrinkles, projecting cheek-bones, or hollow temples. The cheeks are less full than in youthful divinities, and the forehead is usually more rounded. This conformation is in keeping with their admirable conception of the divine nature, which neither suffers change from time, nor passes through gradations of age, and in regard to which we must think of existence without succession. Such elevated ideas of the godhead ought to be peculiar to our artists, rather than to the ancients; and yet, in most of the figures of the Eternal Father, — according to the Italian manner of speaking of the Deity, — we see an aged man, with a bald head. Even Jupiter himself is represented by the scholars of Raphael, in the *Feast of the Gods*, in the Farnesina, with the hair of the head, as well as of the beard, snow-white; and Albano has expressed the same idea in a similar

manner, in his Jupiter, on the famous ceiling painted by him in the palace Verospi.

28. The beauty of deities of a manly age consists in a combination, uniting the robustness of mature years with the joyousness of youth, which in them, as in the images of more youthful divinities, is denoted by the concealment of muscles and sinews, which, in the spring-time of life, make but little show. Together with these characteristics there is also to be seen an expression signifying the all-sufficiency of the divine nature to itself, that it has no need of those parts which are destined to the nutrition of human bodies. This elucidates a passage from Epicurus, relative to the shape of the gods, to whom he gives a body, but only an apparent body, and blood, but only apparent blood, — a sentence which Cicero finds obscure and incomprehensible. The presence or the absence of these parts distinguishes the Hercules who had to contend against monsters and fierce men, and had not yet reached the end of his toils,* from him whose body had been purified by fire, and who had been raised to the enjoyment of the happiness of Olympus. The former is represented in the Hercules Farnese, and the latter, in the torso of the Belvedere (27). It becomes evident, from these characteristics, whether statues — which, through the loss of heads, and other marks of

* Plate 8, A, Hercules Farnese. Plate 7, B, Hercules deified. These two heads are introduced here, in order to show the difference between the more common and the nobler ideal of Hercules. The head, B, was taken from a silver coin, which is ascribed to Amyntas II., king of Macedonia; it is, consequently, a monument of the high style of Greek art. — Germ. Ed.



[illegible] on the famous [illegible]
[illegible] in the palace Verospi
[illegible] body of the [illegible] in accordance with the tenderness of [illegible] years with the joyous [illegible] of youth, while in the [illegible] in the [illegible] the youthful deities [illegible] the counsel and [illegible] of his, make [illegible] their chief characteristics [illegible] signifying the [illegible] nature to itself, that [illegible] which are [illegible] other. The character [illegible] relative to the shape of the [illegible] body, but only as appears [illegible] that only apparent head. — [illegible] which Greek minds observe [illegible] The presence of the [illegible] Hercules with [illegible] and three men, and [illegible] of his tools, from [illegible] by fire, and [illegible] enjoyment of the [illegible] is represented [illegible] latter, in the [illegible] becomes evident, [illegible] statues — which, [illegible] other works of

[illegible] B, Hercules drunk. [illegible] in order to show the difference between [illegible] forms of figures. The head, B, was [illegible] which is ascribed to Augustus II. king of [illegible] one of the finest styles of Greek

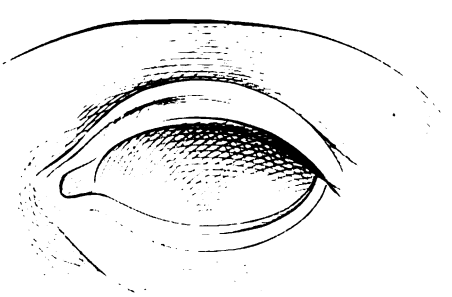
PL. X.

B





A



B

distinction, might be doubtful — represent a god or a mortal. This consideration should have taught those better, who converted a sitting statue of Hercules, above the size of life, into a Jupiter, — by the addition of a new head and appropriate emblems. Through such ideas nature was elevated from the sensual to the uncreated, and the hand of the artist produced beings which were purified from human necessities: figures which represent humanity in a higher scale of excellence appear to be merely the veil and vestment of intelligent spirits and heavenly capacities.

29. The conformation of face of all the deities is so fixed and invariable, that it seems modelled by Nature's self. It is still more apparent in the gods of manly age than in the youthful divinities, that the face of each always retains the same character, — as may be seen in numberless images; so that their heads, from Jupiter to Vulcan, are not less easily recognized than the likenesses of distinguished individuals of antiquity; and, as Antinoüs is known by the lower portion of his face, and Marcus Aurelius by the hair and eyes of a mutilated cameo, in the museum Strozzi, at Rome, so would Apollo be known by his forehead, or Jupiter by the hair of his forehead, or by his beard, if heads should be found of which these parts alone remained.

30. Jupiter was figured with a countenance always serene (28); and they mistake, who wish to find a statue of Jupiter with the epithet of "The Terrible" in a colossal head of black basalt (29), in the villa Mattei, which bears a great resemblance to the Father of the gods, but has a stern

countenance.* They did not observe that the head in question — as well as all those supposed heads of Jupiter which have not a kind and benevolent expression — wears, or has worn, the Modius; † nor did they recollect that Pluto, according to Seneca, resembles Jupiter "the Thunderer," and, like Serapis, wears the Modius, — as may be seen on the seated statue, among others, which was formerly in his temple at Pozzuoli, and is now to be found at Portici, and likewise on a relief in the bishop's residence at Ostia. It has, moreover, not been observed with respect to this figure, erroneously assumed to be a Jupiter "the Terrible," that Pluto and Serapis are one and the same deity, who is distinguished by the Modius on his head. Besides, these heads may be known from those of Jupiter by the hair, which hangs down over the forehead, whilst that of Jupiter is carried upward from the forehead. Consequently, such heads represent, not Jupiter under any name, but Pluto; and since neither statues nor heads of the latter deity, of the size of life, have been known until now, the number of forms under which the deities have been represented has been increased by the characteristics just mentioned. It follows, therefore, from this well-established observation, that a large head of white

* Plate 11.

† Plate 12, Jupiter Serapis, with a Modius, A, on the head. Plate 13, another head of Jupiter Serapis. The former is from a colossal bust in the Pio-Clement museum. It is a valuable monument of ancient art, and one of the best of those images which represent this Egypto-Grecian divinity. Though the Modius and rays are modern restorations, they are justified by marks which show them to have been there anciently. The latter is a small head, formerly in the collection of the poet Goethe. — GERM. ED.

PL. XL



marble (30), with a Modius head-dress, in the villa Pamfili, likewise represents a Pluto (31).

Hitherto no notice has been taken of this characteristic of the countenance; and modern artists have, consequently, supposed that they could designate Pluto in no other way than by a two-tined sceptre, or rather by a fork. The fire-forks with which devils in hell are usually painted appear to have suggested the first idea of this fork. On ancient works, Pluto holds a long sceptre, like the other gods, — as may be seen, among other examples, in the piece at Ostia just mentioned, and on a round altar, belonging to the Marquis Rondinini, in which he has Cerberus on one side, and Proserpine on the other.

31. Jupiter is distinguished from other deities of mature age and with a beard, — from Neptune, Pluto, and Æsculapius, — by his forehead, beard, and hair, not less than by the serenity of his expression. The hair is raised upward on the forehead, and parted; it then describes a short curve, and again falls down on each side, as shown in a copperplate engraving, copied from a head of him, cut in relief on an agate. This arrangement of the hair has been considered as so essential a characteristic of Jupiter, that it has been used to indicate the resemblance of the sons of this god to their father, — as one may readily perceive in the heads of Castor and Pollux, the two colossal statues on the Campidoglio, especially in the head of the former, which is antique; that of the latter is a restoration.

32. On the forehead of Æsculapius, the hair is

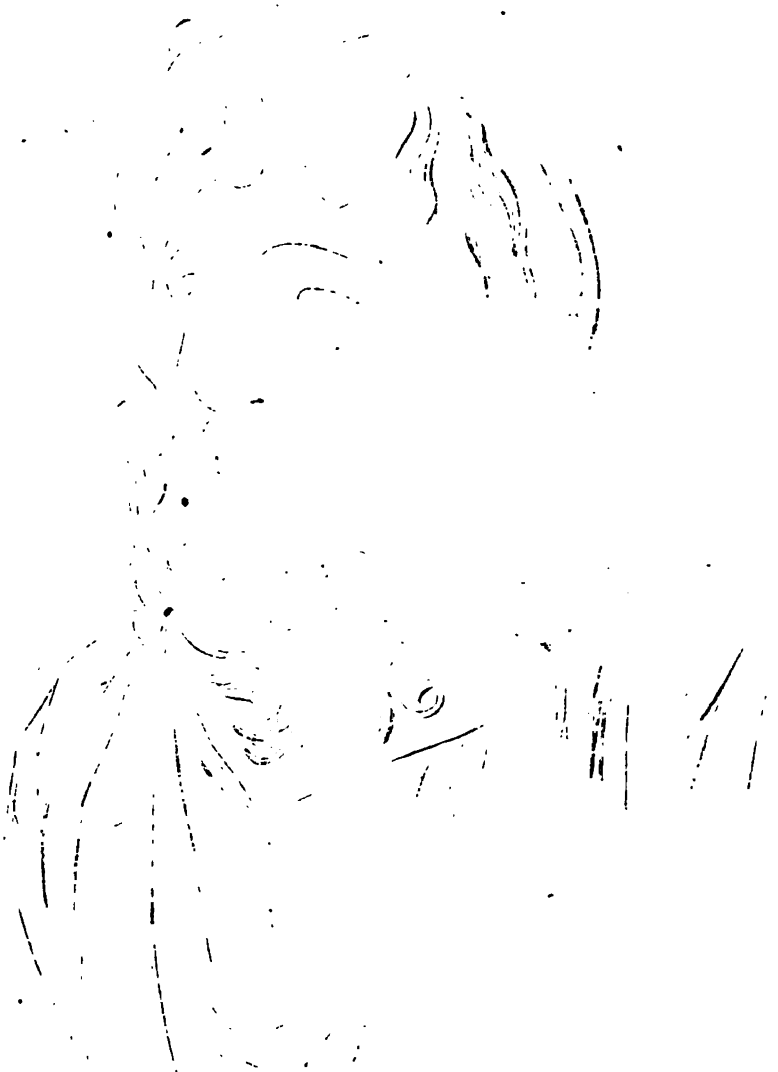
usually carried upwards in a similar, though somewhat different, manner, and, having formed an arch on each side, again falls downward. In this particular, therefore, there is no special difference between the Father of the gods and his grandson, — which can be proved by the most beautiful head of this divinity, on a statue above the natural size, in the villa Albani (32), and by many other images of him, and, among them, a statue of burnt clay, in the Herculaneum museum. But Æsculapius is distinguished by smaller eyes and older features, by the other part of his head-hair, and by his beard, especially on the upper lip, which has more of a bow-shape, whilst the moustache of Jupiter turns down at once about the corner of the mouth, and unites with the beard on his chin. This strong resemblance between grandchild and grandfather might even be grounded on the fact, that the child oftentimes less resembles his father than his grandfather. Experience, drawn from the observation of beasts, and especially horses, has shown that Nature, in the conformation of her creatures, occasionally takes such skips. In a Greek epigram, it is said of the statue of Sarpedon, son of Jupiter, that the race of the Father of the gods was manifest in the countenance; but, according to the foregoing remark, we must believe that the likeness could not have been denoted by the eyes, as it is there stated, but that the hair on the forehead was the distinctive mark of his origin.

33. The arrangement of the front hair on heads of Serapis or Pluto is the reverse of that of Jupiter. It hangs down on the forehead, in order to



PL. XLI.







impart to the countenance a sadder and sterner expression, — as is shown by a superb, but imperfect, head of Serapis, of the most beautiful greenish Egyptian basalt, in the villa Albani, by a colossal head of marble, in the villa Pamfili, and another of black basalt, in the villa Giustiniani. On a head of Serapis, cut in very high relief on an agate, in the royal Farnese museum,* at Naples, as well as on a head of marble, in the Capitoline museum, we see the beard parted on the chin, in addition to the characteristic just mentioned; this, however, may be noticed as a singularity. I will here remark, that not one of all the heads and figures of Serapis can have been executed before the time of Alexander the Great, for Ptolemy Philadelphus first brought this divinity from Pontus to Egypt, and introduced his worship there.

34. The arrangement of the front hair of the Centaurs brings them within the scope of the remark in the thirty-second paragraph. It is almost precisely the same as that of Jupiter, probably for the purpose of signifying their relationship to him, since, as the fable says, they were begotten by Ixion and a Cloud, which had assumed the form of Juno. I am very well aware that the hair is not arranged in this manner on the forehead of the Centaur Chiron, in the Herculaneum museum, whose figure is of sufficient size to admit the representation of this peculiarity; but, as my observation is made on the Centaur in the villa Borghese, and on the more ancient of the two Centaurs in the Capi-

* Now called Museo Borbonico. — Tr.

toline museum, I imagine that the relationship in question will account for the hair being thus arranged.

35. Jupiter is distinguished from those gods who resemble him in the arrangement of their front hair, by the hair which hangs down from his temples, and completely covers his ears. It is longer than on other deities, and arranged, not in curls, but in softly waving lines, and resembles, as I have before remarked, the mane of a lion. This resemblance, and the shaking of the lion's mane, as well as the motion of his eyebrows, appear to have been in the poet's mind, in his celebrated description of Jupiter, who shakes Olympus by the waving of his hair and the movement of his eyebrows.

36. The beautiful head of the unique statue of Neptune,* at Rome, in the villa Medici (33), appears to differ from the heads of Jupiter only in the beard and hair. The beard is not longer, but curly, and is thicker on the upper lip. The hair is curled in locks, and rises upward on the forehead in a manner different from its usual arrangement with Jupiter. An almost colossal head, with a garland of sedge, in the Farnesina, cannot, therefore, represent a Neptune; for the hair of the beard, as well as of the head, hangs directly down in waves; and its aspect is not serene, as in the statue; consequently, a sea-god, or river-god, must be here figured.

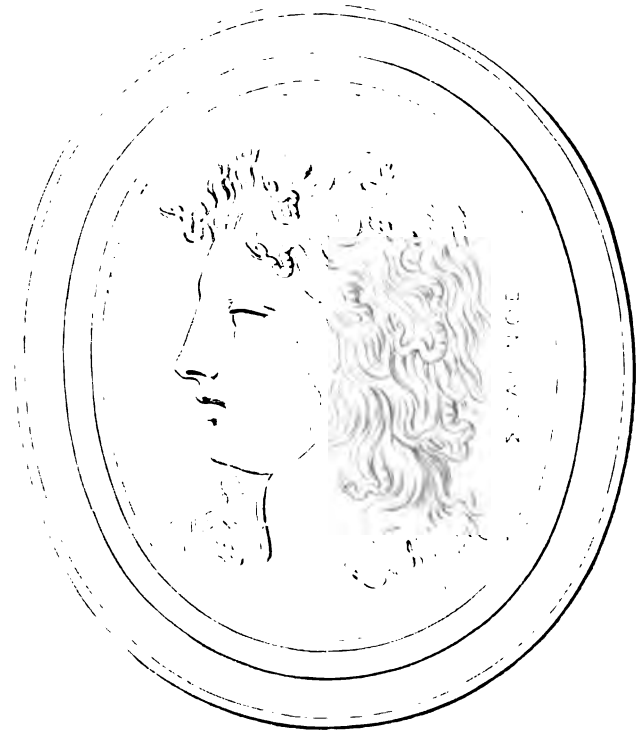
37. A passage in Philostratus, which has been

* Pl. 14, A. This statue was afterwards carried to Leghorn. The nose is probably modern. — Germ. Ed.

A



B



[illegible]
sess, [illegible] a pict
Κῦμα γὰρ ἡδὺ καὶ τοῦτο
χαροποῦ τρόπου πεδὰ
[illegible]ctly by the wave
[illegible]ough green soil, and
[illegible]s penetrating it
[illegible] this writer
quotation as ap
[illegible]ds too hard
[illegible]ption the schoolmaster
[illegible], who
πορφύρεον ὑγρὸν ὑπὸ σκότου
on each comes. P
to be [illegible]
it purple." This
of the Mediterranean
[illegible] to be
[illegible] appear
colored.

28. This is
the facial contour
dentes, though it is
Neapolis. It is the most strongly
colossal heads of Tritons, in
except a bust in the
grouping of one of them
[illegible]
of this when
the
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible], head of a

misunderstood, occurs to me at this moment. He says, describing a picture of Neptune and Amymone, *Κῦμα γὰρ ἤδη κυρτοῦται ἐς τὸν γάμον, γλαυκὸν ἔτι, καὶ τοῦ χαροποῦ τρόπου, πορφυροῦν δὲ αὐτὸ ὁ Ποσειδὼν γράφει,* "Already the wave is arching for the nuptials; though green still, and of an azure hue, yet Neptune is painting it purple." Olearius, in his commentaries on this writer, has understood the last clause of the quotation as applying to a golden light which surrounds the head of Neptune, and censures, on this occasion, the scholiast of Homer, who interprets the word *πορφύρεος* by *obscurus*, "dark." He is wrong on both points. Philostratus says, "The sea begins to be arched," *κυρτοῦται*, "and Neptune is painting it purple." This remark is derived from observation of the Mediterranean Sea after a calm; for, when it begins to be agitated, it presents in the distance a red appearance, so that the waves appear purple-colored.

38. This is the most appropriate place to notice the facial conformation of the other, inferior sea-deities, though it is entirely different from that of Neptune. It is the most strongly marked in two colossal heads of Tritons, in the villa Albani, if we except a bust in the Capitoline museum: an engraving of one of them may be found in my *Ancient Monuments*. They are distinguished by a sort of fins, which form the eyebrows,* and resemble the eyebrows of the marine god Glaucus, in Philostratus, — *ὀφρῦς λάσιαι συνάπτουσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας,* "his shaggy eyebrows joining each other." These fins

* Pl. 15, head of a Triton, in the Pio-Clement museum (34). — Tr.

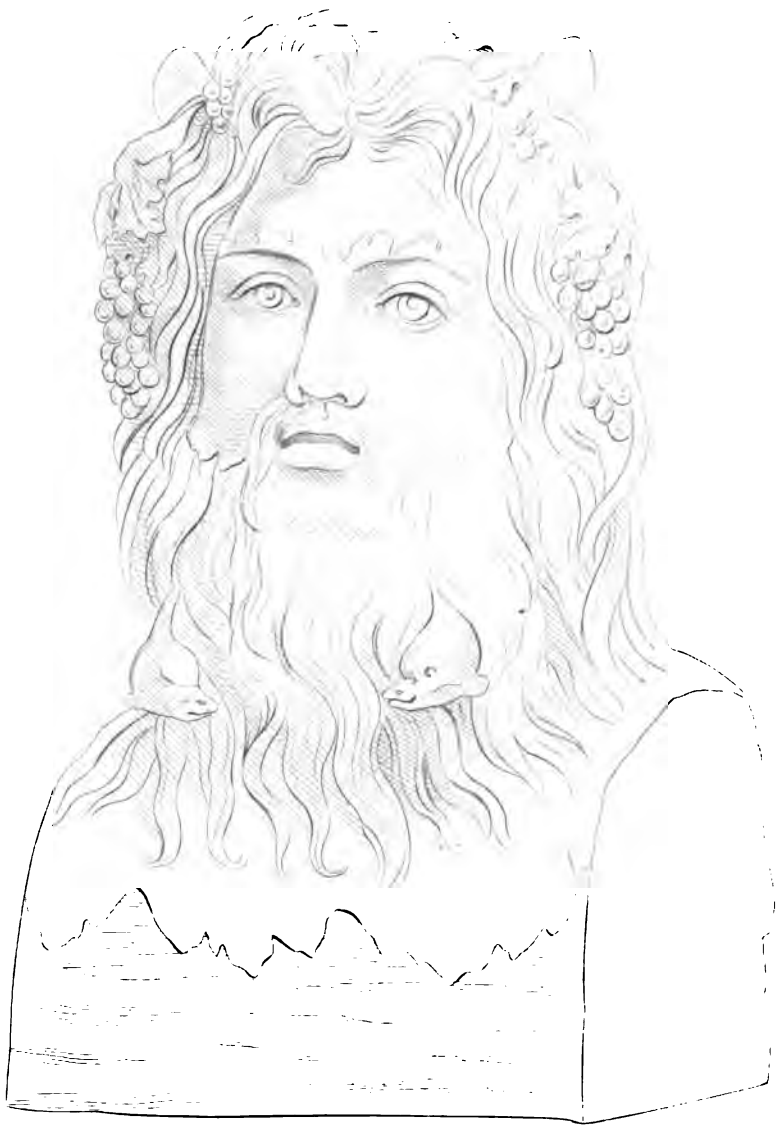
pass again over the cheeks, nose, and even round the chin. Tritons of this form are found on divers burial urns, one of which is in the Capitoline museum.

39. As the ancients had mounted gradually from human to divine beauty, each of the steps of beauty remained through which they passed in their ascent.

Near the divinities stand the Heroes and Heroines of fable. To the artist, the latter as well as the former were objects of beauty. In Heroes, that is, in men to whom antiquity attributed the highest excellence of human nature, he advanced even to the confines of the divine nature, without passing beyond them, and without blending the very nice distinctions which separated the two. Battus, on medals of Cyrene, might easily be made to represent a Bacchus, by a single expression of tender delight, and an Apollo, by one trait of godlike nobleness. Minos, on coins of Gnossus, if it were not for a proud, regal look, would resemble a Jupiter, full of graciousness and mercy.

40. The artist shaped the forms of Heroes heroically, and gave to certain parts a preternatural development; placed in the muscles quickness of action and of motion; and in energetic efforts brought into operation all the motive powers of nature. The object which he sought to attain was variety in its utmost extent; and in this respect, Myron exceeded all his predecessors. It is visible even in the Gladiator, erroneously so called, of Agasias of Ephesus, in the villa Borghese, whose face is evidently copied after that of some particular individual. The serrated muscles on the sides, as well as others, are

PL. XV.



more prominent, active, and contractile than is natural. The same thing is yet more clearly seen, in the same muscles, in the Laocoön, — who is an ideally elevated being, — if this portion of the body be compared with the corresponding portion in deified or godlike figures, as the Hercules and Apollo of the Belvedere. The action of these muscles, in the Laocoön, is carried beyond truth to the limits of possibility; they lie like hills which are drawing themselves together, — for the purpose of expressing the extremest exertion in anguish and resistance. In the torso of Hercules deified, there is a high ideal form and beauty in these same muscles; they resemble the undulations of the calmed sea, flowing though elevated, and rising and sinking with a soft, alternate swell. In the Apollo, an image of the most beautiful of the gods, these muscles are smooth, and, like molten glass blown into scarce visible waves, are more obvious to touch than to sight.

41. In all these respects, beauty was uniformly the principal object at which the artist aimed, and both fable and the poets justified him in representing even young heroes with such a conformation of face as to leave the sex doubtful, — as I have already remarked of Hercules; and this might easily be the case with a figure of Achilles, who, from the charms of his face, assisted by female dress, lived undetected with the daughters of Lycomedes, as their companion. He is thus represented on a relievo in the villa Belvedere, at Frascati, — which is placed over the preface to my *Ancient Monuments*, — and also on another raised work in the villa Pamfili.

On first looking at the relievo which represents the recognition of Telephus by his mother, Auge, at the moment when she is about to kill him, I was in some doubt as to the sex of his figure. The face of the young hero is perfectly feminine, when looked at from below upwards; but viewed from above downward, it has something masculine blended with it. This relievo, in the palace Ruspoli, which has never before been explained, may be ranked among the most beautiful in the world: it may be seen among my *Monuments of Antiquity*. Beauty of the same equivocal kind would be found in Theseus also, if he should be figured as he came from Trœzene to Athens, dressed in a long robe reaching to his feet. The workmen on the temple of Apollo looked upon him as a beautiful virgin, and were astonished to see one, whom they supposed to be a handsome girl, going into the city unattended, contrary to the usual custom of that day.

42. No regard has been paid either to this idea of beauty, or to the age of Theseus, in a picture in the Herculaneum museum, in which the ancient painter has represented him with the Athenian boys and maidens kissing his hand, on his return from Crete, after slaying the Minotaur. But Nicholas Poussin has deviated still farther from the truth, and from the beauty of youthful age, in a picture (35) belonging to Lewis Vanvitelli, royal architect at Naples, in which Theseus, in presence of his mother, Æthra, discovers his father's sword and shoe concealed beneath a stone. This event took place in the sixteenth year of his age; but, in the picture, he is represented as already having a beard, and of a

manly age, divested of all youthful roundness. I will say nothing of the edifice and triumphal arch, which are wholly incongruous with the times of Theseus.

43. The reader will pardon me, if I am obliged once more to direct the attention of that poetical writer on painting* to his erroneous prejudices. Among many absurd characteristics of the shape of heroes and demigods, as he terms them, he enumerates meagre limbs, lean legs, small head, narrow hips, sunken abdomen, smallish feet, and hollow soles to the feet. Where in the world did he meet with these appearances? Would that he had written of what he better understood!

44. Modern artists ought to have formed their figures of the Saviour conformably to the ideas which the ancients entertained of the beauty of their heroes, and thus made him correspond to the prophetic declaration, which announces him as the most beautiful of the children of men. But the idea of most figures of him, beginning with Michael Angelo, appears to be borrowed from the barbarous works of the Middle Ages, and there can be nothing more ignoble than the face in such heads of Christ. How much more noble the conceptions of Raphael are may be seen in a small original drawing, in the Royal Farnese museum at Naples, which represents our Saviour's burial, and in which his head exhibits the beauty of a young hero without beard. Annibal Caracci is the only one, so far as I know, who has imitated his ex-

* Watelet, L'Art de Peindre.

ample, in three similar pictures of the same subject, one of which is in the museum just mentioned, another in Santo Francesco *a ripa* at Rome, and the third in the family chapel of the palace Pamfili. But if such a face should possibly appear to the artist a scandalous innovation on the customary representation of the Saviour with a beard, then let him study the Saviour of Leonardo da Vinci, and, in particular, a wonderfully beautiful head from the hand of the same master, in the cabinet of Prince Wenzel von Lichtenstein, in Vienna. This head, notwithstanding the beard, expresses the highest manly beauty, and may be commended as the most perfect model.

45. If one will now reascend the steps from heroes to gods, which we have just descended from gods to heroes, pursuing exactly the gradation by which deities have been formed from heroes, it will appear that the effect has been produced rather by subtraction than by addition, that is to say, by the gradual abstraction of all those parts which, even in nature, are sharply and strongly expressed, until the shape becomes refined to such a degree that only the spirit within appears to have brought it into being.

CHAPTER II.

The Conformation and Beauty of the Female Deities and Heroines.

1. In the female, as in the male divinities, different ages, and even different ideas of beauty, are observable, at least in their heads, for Venus is the only goddess who is entirely nude. In regard to forms and development, however, there are not so many gradations of difference in the figures of beautiful females, because that development is varied only according to their age. The limbs are equally rounded and full in heroines as in goddesses, — for even the former are found represented, as well as the latter; and if the artist had imparted a more marked development to certain parts in heroines, he would have deviated from the characteristics of their sex. For the same reason that I find less to notice in the beauty of the female sex, the study of the artist in this department is much more limited and easy; even Nature appears to act with more facility in the formation of the female than of the male sex, since there are fewer male than female children born. Hence Aristotle says, that the operations of Nature tend to perfection, even in the formation of human beings; but if a male cannot be produced, owing to the resistance of matter,

then a female is the result. There is also another reason, not less easy to be understood, why the consideration, as well as the imitation, of beauty of shape in female statues may require less labor, which is, that most of the goddesses, as well as all the heroines, are draped, — an observation which is repeated in the dissertation on Drapery; whilst, on the contrary, the greater number of statues of the male sex are in a nude state.

2. I would observe, however, that my remark as to the similarity of the nude parts of female figures is to be understood only of the shape of the body, and does not exclude a distinctive character in their heads. This has been strongly expressed in each goddess as well as in the heroines, so that both superior and inferior goddesses can be distinguished, even when the emblems usually adjoined to them are wanting. Each goddess had her peculiar aspect, as well as each god; and the ancient artists constantly adhered to it. With this characteristic individual expression of the face they also endeavoured to associate beauty in its highest degree, but they did not stop here; they impressed similar beauty likewise upon the female masks.

3. Among the goddesses, Venus stands fairly pre-eminent, not only as the goddess of beauty, but because she alone, with the Graces, and the Seasons or Hours, is undraped(1), and also because she is found represented more frequently than any other goddess, and in different ages. The Medicean Venus, at Florence, resembles a rose which, after a lovely dawn, unfolds its leaves to the rising sun; resembles one who is passing from an age which

is hard and somewhat harsh — like fruits before their perfect ripeness — into another, in which all the vessels of the animal system are beginning to dilate, and the breasts to enlarge, as her bosom indicates, — which, in fact, is more developed than is usual in tender maidens. The attitude (2) brings before my imagination that Laïs who instructed Apelles in love. Methinks I see her, as when, for the first time, she stood naked before the artist's eyes. In the Capitoline museum there is a statue of Venus (3) that stands in precisely the same attitude, and is in a state of better preservation than most of these figures, for one finger only is wanting, and there are no fractures in it; in the villa Albani is another; there is still another (4), copied by one Menophantus from a Venus which stood at Troy (5). The last differs from the others in that the right hand is nearer the bosom, the second finger resting upon the centre of it; the left hand supports a drapery. But both are represented in a riper age, and even larger than the Venus de' Medici. A shape of beautiful maidenhood, resembling hers, may be seen in the half-draped Thetis, of the size of life, in the villa Albani, who appears here of the age when she was given in marriage to Peleus: this statue will be described hereafter, in the second chapter of the twelfth book.

4. The celestial Venus (6), daughter of Jupiter and Harmonia, is different from the other Venus, who is the daughter of Dione. She is distinguished by a high diadem of the kind peculiar to Juno; a similar diadem is also worn by a

Venus victrix, *victorious*. The most beautiful known statue of her was discovered in the theatre of the ancient city of Capua; the arms are wanting, and her left foot rests upon a helmet. It is now in the royal palace at Caserta. A diadem of the same kind may also be seen, in some reliefs which represent the rape of Proserpine, on the head of a draped Venus, who is gathering flowers in company with Pallas, Diana, and Proserpine, in the fields of Enna, in Sicily. But it can be observed the most distinctly on two sepulchral urns in the palace Barberini. This head-ornament has been given to no other goddesses than these, with the exception of Thetis, who bears it on her head in a painting on a beautiful vase of burnt clay in the Vatican library, of which an engraving may be seen in my *Ancient Monuments*.

5. The celestial, not less than the Medicean Venus, has in her softly opened eyes that expression of tenderness and love which the Greeks term τὸ ὑγρόν, "liquid"; it is owing entirely to the lower eyelid being somewhat elevated,* as I will point out hereafter in my remarks on the beauty of the eyes. This look is, however, entirely free from wantonness, for Love was regarded by the ancient artists and intelligent philosophers as, in the words of Euripides, the associate of Wisdom; yet certain modern sculptors have imparted an expression of this sort to their statues of Venus, with the de-

* Plate 16, B and C. Two eyes of Venus Urania. The former is copied from the beautiful fragment in the Dresden collection. The latter is after a head of the same goddess, which was formerly in the museum at Cassel, where it bore the name of Juno. — GERM. ED.

PL XVI



sign of showing thereby what goddess they intended to represent.

6. When I remarked that Venus, with the Graces and Hours, is the only one of the goddesses who is not draped, I did not mean to be understood to say that she is uniformly represented nude, because we know the contrary of the Venus of Praxiteles, at Cos. There is also a beautiful draped statue of this goddess, which was formerly in the palace Spada, but has since been sent to England; and she is thus represented in a relief on one of the two beautiful candelabra which were formerly in the palace Barberini, and now belong to the sculptor Cavaceppi.

7. As a wife and goddess, Juno is seen preëminent above the other goddesses in development as well as regal pride. She may be known, not only by her lofty diadem, but by her large eyes, and an imperious mouth, the line of which is so characteristic, that one can say, simply from seeing such a mouth in a mere profile, — the sole remains of a female head on a mutilated gem cut in high relief, in the museum Strozzi, — that it is a head of Juno. The beauty in the expression of her large, roundly arched eyes is of an imperious character, like that of a queen who wills to rule, and who cannot fail to command respect and inspire love. The colossal head of this goddess (7) in the villa Ludovisi * is the most beautiful head of her; another, smaller head may also be found

* Plate 16, A. Profile of the colossal head of Juno in the villa Ludovisi. — Germ. Ed.

there, which merits the second rank. The most beautiful statue is in the palace Barberini,* in which there is, besides, a colossal head of her; but it does not equal in beauty the one first mentioned.

8. Pallas, on the contrary, is always a virgin, of mature form and age.† She and Diana are always serious. The former, in particular, who appears to have divested herself of all feminine weakness, and even to have conquered Love himself, is an image of maiden modesty. Hence the eyes, more especially of Pallas, explain the name which was given by the Greeks and Romans to the pupil of the eye: the latter terming it pupilla, *young virgin;* the former, κόρη, which had the same signification. Her eyes are moderately full, and less open than those of Juno. Her head is not carried proudly erect, but her look is rather cast slightly downward, as if she was in quiet meditation. The contrary is observable in the heads of Roma (8), who, as the mistress of so many kingdoms, bears a regal boldness in her aspect. Like Pallas, however, she wears a helmet. But I must observe here, that the face of Pallas, on Grecian silver coins of the city of Velia in Lucania, on which her casque has wings on both sides, exhibits the reverse of what I have remarked in statues and busts; for there her eyes are large, and her look is directed forwards or upwards, and her hair is gathered

* Now in the Pio-Clement museum.

† Plate 17. Profile of the Pallas of Velletri, so called because it was found at Velletri, in 1797. It is a statue of colossal proportions, and is almost entirely uninjured.—Germ. Ed.

PL. XVII.



into a knot, a style which, the poet* says, speaking of Pallas and Diana, can belong only to the latter. For Pallas generally wears her hair knotted together at a distance from her head, and it then hangs down, beneath the fillet that binds it, in rows of long locks. From this arrangement of the hair, which is peculiar to her, she has received the name, but little known, of *παραπεπλεγμένη*. Pollux explains this word by *ἀναπεπλεγμένη*, but without making the idea clearer. It is an epithet which probably signifies hair thus disposed; the mode of its arrangement would therefore illustrate the writer mentioned above. As she wore her hair longer than other goddesses, this may be the reason for swearing by her hair. On a medallion of Adrian, in the Vatican library, and on a relievo in the Campidoglio, representing a sacrifice by Marcus Aurelius, she sits near Jupiter on the summit of the temple of this god, with her right hand placed on her helmeted head, — which is an unusual position. The most beautiful statue† of her is in the villa Albani (9).

9. Diana has, in a greater degree than any other of the superior goddesses, the shape and carriage of a virgin. Endowed with all the attractions of her sex, she appears to be unconscious of them herself. Her look is not downcast, like that of Pallas, but frank, sprightly, and cheerful. It is turned towards the source of her enjoyments, the

* Statius, Theb., l. 2, v. 237.

† Plate 18, A. Profile of the glorious statue of Pallas, in the high style, in the villa Albani. B. Front view of the mouth of the same statue, of the size of the original. — Germ. Ed.

chase, — especially as she is generally represented in running or walking, — so that it is directed straight forwards, and away into the distance, beyond all near objects. Her hair is smoothed upwards on all sides around her head, and then gathered into a knot behind, on the crown of the head, just above the neck, after the manner of virgins, or even at a distance from her head. She is without diadem or other ornaments, which have been given to her in modern times. Her figure is lighter and more slender than that of Juno, and even of Pallas. A mutilated Diana would be as readily distinguishable among the other goddesses as she is in Homer among all her beauteous Oreads. She generally wears a dress which is tucked up, and descends no lower than the knee; but she is also represented in longer garments; and is the only one of the goddesses who, in some figures, has her right breast bared (10).

10. Ceres (11) is nowhere represented more beautiful than on a silver coin of the city of Metapontus, in Magna Græcia, which is in the museum of the Duke Caraffa Noia at Naples; on its reverse is stamped, as usual, an ear of wheat, on which a mouse is seated. In this, as in other images of her on coins, the veil or drapery is drawn to the back part of the head; and a diadem, like that of Juno, together with ears and leaves of wheat, is placed just above the front hair, which lies scattered about on the forehead in sweet disorder. This discomposure of the hair was probably intended to signify her grief at the abduction of her daughter, Proserpine.

He is [illegible] represented — so that it is directed [illegible] into the distance, before us. Her hair is smoothed upwards round her head, and then [illegible] behind, on the crown of the neck, after the manner of Minerva from her head. She [illegible] ornaments, which have [illegible] times. Her figure is [illegible] than that of Juno and [illegible] Diana would be as [illegible] the other goddesses [illegible] all her beauteous Dress which is tucked [illegible] above the knee; but [illegible] long garments; and is [illegible] goddesses who, in some figures [illegible] (10).

[illegible] represented more beautiful [illegible] of the city of Metapontum [illegible] in the museum [illegible] Naples; on its reverse [illegible] ear of wheat, on [illegible] this, as in other [illegible], drapery is [illegible] her head; and a diadem [illegible] ther with ears and [illegible] placed just above the front [illegible] about on the forehead [illegible] the disorderly disposure of the hair [illegible] to signify her grief at the [illegible] Proserpine.

PL. XVIII.



11. In the head of Ceres, and likewise that of her daughter, the cities of Magna Græcia and Sicily endeavoured to represent on their coins the highest beauty. It will be difficult to find more beautiful coins, even as respects the impression, than those of Syracuse, which, on their obverse, exhibit the head of Proserpine, and on the reverse a conqueror in a four-horse car. The drawing and engraving of this coin, in the collection belonging to the cabinet of Pellerin, ought to have been better executed. She is there represented as crowned with long, pointed leaves, similar to those which, with the wheat-ears, surround the head of her mother, Ceres. Hence I am of opinion that the leaves on the head of Proserpine are leaves of the wheat stalk, and not sedge, as they have been regarded by others, who, on this assumption, wish to find the likeness of the nymph Arethusa in the head on these coins.

12. Figures of Hebe are more rare than those of any other goddess. On two relievi, only the upper part of her body is visible; and on one of them, in the villa of the Cardinal Alessandro Albani, which represents the *Reconciliation of Hercules*, her name is near her. There is another figure, perfectly similar to this, on a large marble cup in the same villa. This cup will appear in the third volume of my *Ancient Monuments* (12). These figures, however, give no particular idea of Hebe, because they have none of the attributes ascribed to her. On a third relievo, in the villa Borghese, — in which she is seen, as a suppliant, on her knees, because her office was taken from her and

conferred on Ganymedes, — the subject of the marble enables us to recognize her, even although other indications had been wanting by which she might be distinguished. But her dress is tucked up high, after the manner of the boys who attended on sacrifices, *Camilli*, and of servants who waited at table, and thus distinguishes her from other goddesses.

13. Of the inferior and subordinate goddesses, I shall mention particularly the Graces, Hours, Nymphs, Muses, Parcæ, Furies, and Gorgons.

14. The Graces were the nymphs and playmates of Venus, and in the most ancient times were, like her, represented fully draped. As far as I know, however, only a single monument remains which exhibits them in this manner, namely, the triangular Etruscan altar, in the villa Borghese, to which reference has already been frequently made. In the palace Ruspoli there are figures of nude Graces, about half the size of life. They are the largest, most beautiful, and best preserved of all that remain. The heads, in this instance, are the original heads of the statues, whereas those of the Graces in the villa Borghese are modern and ugly; our judgment will consequently be based upon the former. They are entirely without ornament; the hair is confined by a fine cord passing round the head, and in two of the figures it is gathered together behind, near the neck. Their countenances express neither gayety nor seriousness, but a quiet contentment, appropriate to the innocence of their years.

15. The Hours, *Ὧραι*, are the companions and

attendants of the Graces, — that is, they are the goddesses of the seasons and of natural beauties, and daughters of Themis by Jupiter, or, according to other poets, daughters of the Sun. In the earliest periods of art, they were represented by two figures only; but their number was afterwards increased to three, because the year was divided into three seasons, spring, autumn, and winter; their names are Eunomia, Dice, and Irene. They are generally represented dancing, by poets as well as artists, and, in most works by the latter, as being of the same age. Their garments are short, reaching only to the knee, as dancers were accustomed to wear theirs; and their heads are crowned with a wreath of upright palm-leaves, as they may be seen on a three-sided base in the villa Albani, which is engraved in my *Ancient Monuments*. When, after a time, four seasons were established, four Hours were also introduced into art, as may be seen on a sepulchral urn in the same villa, of which an engraving is given in the work just mentioned. In this instance, however, they are represented of different ages and in longer vestments, and also without the garland of palm-leaves, so that Spring resembles an innocent virgin at that age when her shape has attained what an epigram terms the growth of the Spring-Hour, and the three other sisters ascend in age by a regular gradation. When more than four figures appear in the dance, as in the well-known relief in the villa Borghese, then we have the Hours in company with the Graces.

16. In regard to the Nymphs, it may be said

that each one of the superior divinities, as well of the male as of the female sex, had special Nymphs; even the Muses were ranked among them, as the Nymphs of Apollo. But those with whom we are most familiar are, in the first place, the Nymphs of Diana, or the Oreads, and the Nymphs of the trees, or the Hamadryads; and, in the second place, the Nereids, or Nymphs of the sea, and the Sirens.

17. The Muses may be seen represented, on different monuments, with far greater diversity of countenance, as well as of position and action, than any other Nymphs; for the tragic Muse, Melpomene, is distinguishable, even without her emblems, from the comic Muse, Thalia, and this latter — it is unnecessary to mention the names of the others — from Erato and Terpsichore, who presided over dancing. The peculiar characteristic of the two last-named Muses was forgotten by those among the moderns who placed a garland in the left hand of the celebrated lightly draped statue in the court of the palace Farnese, — which holds up its under-dress with the right hand, after the manner of dancing-girls, — and then imagined that, by this means, they had made a Flora of it, the name by which alone it is known at the present time. The consequence has been, that the same appellation is now extended, without further consideration, to all female figures whose head is crowned with flowers. That the Romans had a Flora, I know well; but no such goddess was known to the Greeks, whose skill executed the statues which we admire. Different figures of the

Muses, much larger than life, are to be found; among them is one, in the above-named palace, which has been converted into a Urania; I am therefore confident that the statue called Flora is wrongly named, and is either an Erato or a Terpsichore. As to the Flora in the Capitoline museum, whose head is crowned with flowers, I find no ideal beauty in it; and, in my opinion, it is the likeness of some unknown beautiful individual, who, by means of this garland, is made to represent one of the goddesses of the seasons, namely, Spring. In the description of this Muse, the remark, that she holds a bunch of flowers in her hand, ought at least to have been omitted, because the hand, as well as the flowers, is a modern addition.

18. Catullus describes the Fates as old, wrinkled, and bent with years, with trembling limbs and harsh countenances; but they are represented, on more than one ancient monument, in a manner which is the very reverse of this description. They are generally found present at the *Death of Meleager*, where they appear as beautiful young virgins, sometimes with, and sometimes without, wings on their heads, and distinguished by their appropriate emblems; one is always writing with a pen on a scroll. At times there are only two Parcæ, as there were but two statues of them in the porch of the temple of Apollo, at Delphi.

19. Even the Furies are represented as beautiful young virgins (13), either with or without snakes about their heads. Sophocles calls them "virgins ever young." On a vase in the Porcinari collection, at Naples, of which an engraving has been

published in the second volume of the *Hamilton Vases*, there is a painting which represents them with snakes, and blazing torches, and bared arms, seeking vengeance on Orestes. These avenging goddesses appear, likewise, young and beautiful on different reliefs in Rome, descriptive of the same incident in relation to this hero.

20. The Gorgons, the last named of the inferior goddesses, are, with the exception of the head of Medusa, not represented on any antique work. But, if images of them had been preserved, their shape would have been found not to correspond to the description given of them by the most ancient poets, in which they are armed with long teeth, like tusks; since Medusa, one of the three sisters, has been to artists an image of high beauty, and fable also presents her to us in a similar aspect. According to some accounts, which are quoted by Pausanias, she was the daughter of Phorcus. After her father's death, she assumed the government of his dominions, which bordered on Lake Tritonis, in Africa, and even led her subjects in war. She was slain in an attack upon the army of Perseus, against whom she had marched. The hero, astonished at the beauty displayed even by her lifeless body, cut off her head, for the purpose of showing it to the Greeks. The most beautiful head in marble of a dead Medusa(14) is that in the hand of a much repaired statue of Perseus, in the palace Lanti. One of the most beautiful heads on gems is a cameo in the royal Farnese museum, at Naples; another, on carnelian, is in the museum Strozzi. Both of these are of a loftier charac-

ter than the more celebrated one in this same museum, marked with the name of Solon.* This last celebrated Medusa is cut on a chalcedony. It was found in a vineyard, near the church of Saints John and Paul, on Mount Cœlius, by a gardener, who offered it for sale to a purchaser of things of the kind, which we call antiques, who kept on the square Montanara, near the theatre of Marcellus. This man, who could have no particular knowledge of such articles, wished to take an impression from the stone, on wax. It happened to be winter, and early in the morning; the wax of course was not sufficiently soft, and the stone was broken into two pieces. The finder received two sequins (four dollars) for it. From the buyer it passed into the possession of Sabattini, a practical antiquarian of some note, who purchased it for three sequins. He had it set in gold, and sold it for five sequins to the Cardinal Alessandro Albani, — who at that time had not assumed the clerical profession. He exchanged it again with this same Sabattini for other antiquities, at an estimated value of fifty scudi (fifty dollars). If it were not for the preceding authentic account of it, I should be unable to divest myself of a suspicion that the figure might be the work of a more modern hand, — an opinion which I entertained for some time (15). However, this Medusa has obtained the utmost celebrity; it is selected by our artists for imitation, and has been frequently cut on stone; yet the above-mentioned head on carnelian is far more deserving of such preference.

* Plate 14, B.

21. With the goddesses I associate the Heroines or Amazons (16), as ideal images. They all resemble each other in conformation, even to the hair of the head; and their countenances appear to have been executed after one and the same model. Among the Heroines, the Amazons are the most celebrated; and they are represented in many statues, and on relievi. Their look is serious, blended with an expression of pain or sorrow, for all these statues have a wound in the breast; this must have been the case with those, also, of which only the heads remain. The eyebrows are defined with an energetic sharpness; now, as this manner was usual in the more ancient style of art, as I shall hereafter show, it is an allowable supposition, that the Amazon of Ctesilaus, which received the prize over the Amazons of Polycletus and Phidias, may have served as a model to succeeding artists. The look of the Amazons is neither warlike nor fierce, but serious, even more so than that of Pallas is wont to be.

22. There are six entire Amazon statues, known as such, in Rome. The first is in the villa Mattei, and is the only one which has a helmet lying at its feet. The second is in the palace Barberini. The third, in the Capitoline museum, bears the name of the artist, Sosicles. The fourth is in the court of the palace Verospi. The fifth and sixth are likewise in the Capitol; but their heads — one of which is antique, and the other modern, and covered with a helmet — do not belong to them; and neither corresponds to the statue upon which it is placed. The restorers of the last

two statues did not understand that the heads of the Amazons are characterized by a definite idea, and to such a degree, that those of the four first-mentioned statues appear to be the heads of sisters, and taken, as it were, from the same mould. There is no difference even in the hair, either in its arrangement or execution; the countenance of all expresses what the word *virago* signifies. There are, however, in the Capitoline museum two heads perfectly similar to the others, and very well preserved, which, if they had been recognized, might have been placed upon those statues of Amazons which have not their original heads, for these supplemental heads are not in keeping with the rest of the body. No heads would have furnished to our artists better models for figures of the Holy Virgin than these, if the idea of using them for this purpose had ever occurred to any one.

In the villa Pamfili is an Amazon (17), above the size of life, — as these figures always are, — which the process of restoration has converted into a Diana, though the drapery and head ought to have pointed out its true character. The sight of a single head of an Amazon would have removed all the doubts of a certain author (18), who finds himself unable to decide whether a head crowned with laurel — on the coins of the city of Myrina, in Asia Minor, which was built by the Amazons — represents an Apollo, or one of these heroines. I will not again repeat here what I have already remarked in more than one place, that, among all the statues of Amazons, there is not a single instance in which the left breast is wanting.

23. In the heads of particular individuals the ancient artists approximated as closely to the ideal as it could be done without injury to the resemblance. These heads show with how much good judgment certain details which do not add to the likeness are passed over. Many of those wrinkles which are the necessary accompaniments of age are omitted; those which detract nothing from our conception of beauty are expressed, — as, for instance, beneath the chin and on the neck. The precept of the ancient sage was observed here, namely, to make the good as good as possible, but to conceal and diminish the bad. On the other hand, those parts of the face of an individual which are beautiful, but which neither add to nor detract from the likeness, may be brought particularly into view. This rule has been judiciously observed in the heads of Louis the Fourteenth, on his coins, as is evident from a comparison of them with Ranteuil's beautifully engraved heads of this monarch.

24. As animals cannot be excluded from our observations on beauty, a few remarks relative to them will be subjoined. It has been observed of horses, by critics who can speak knowingly upon the subject(19), that those which remain to us in marble and bronze are copied from a coarse breed of the animal. In confirmation of their assertion, they point especially to the supposed clumsy make of the parts between the neck and spine, at the place where the shoulder-blades are situated in man, which in horses is called the withers. In the Arabian, Spanish, Neapolitan, and English horses this part is finer, lighter, and more flexible. Some other

animals, especially lions (20), have received from the ancient artists an ideal shape, — a piece of information for those to whom lions in marble appear different from lions in life. The same remark may be made, yet more strongly, of the dolphin; it cannot be found in nature as it is represented on antique works; yet its imaginary form has been adopted by all modern artists as a reality.*

25. Whilst on the subject of female ideal beauty, I cannot refrain from mentioning the Masks of this sex. Among them are to be found faces of the highest beauty, even on works of indifferent execution; such, for instance, is a procession of Bacchus, in the palace Albani, in which are two female Masks that give me renewed pleasure every time I look at them, — a hint for the information of those who have supposed all the ancient Masks to be of a frightful character.

26. I close these general remarks on beauty of shape and forms with some observations on the beauty of Masks. The term Masks appears to convey an idea of disguise and deformity. When, therefore, we see the beauty of conformation which is displayed in works seemingly scarce worthy of such elegance, not less than in those of a loftier character, we can the more readily infer how gen-

* The paragraphs 23 and 24, which are inserted here, are taken from the Notes to the History of Art. It is true that their insertion here interrupts in some degree the connection between 22 and 25; but, as the author's remarks upon the portrait-figures of the ancients and the ideal conformation of animals could not find a more appropriate place, we thought it better to disturb the connection a little, rather than banish them from the text to find a place among the notes. — GERM. ED.

erally the principles of beauty must have been known, and how common was the representation of beautiful forms. This inference gains strength when we consider that the procession above mentioned, in which Masks are introduced, was taken from a sepulchral urn, the most ordinary class of antique works. Of all the reflections contained in this history, no one can be brought to the proof more generally than the foregoing, because it can be tested everywhere, even at a distance from the treasures of antiquity; whereas those investigations which relate especially to expression, action, drapery, and style, can be carried on only with the ancient works before one's eyes. Coins and engraved gems, or impressions from them, are to be obtained even in lands which have never seen any admirable work from a Greek chisel, and from these the whole world can form an idea of the lofty conceptions expressed in the heads of the divinities. A head of Jupiter on the coins of Philip of Macedon, on those of the first Ptolemies, and likewise those of Pyrrhus, is not inferior in majesty of conformation to his image in marble. The head of Ceres, on silver coins of the city of Metapontus, in Magna Græcia, and the head of Proserpine, on two different silver coins of Syracuse, in the royal Farnese museum at Naples, surpass any thing that can be imagined. The same remark might be made of other beautiful female figures, on numerous coins and engraved gems.

27. Nothing mean or ordinary, indeed, could be introduced into the images of the deities, because their conformation was so universally settled among

Greek artists as apparently to have been prescribed by some law. The head of Jupiter on coins of Ionia, or stamped by Doric Greeks, is perfectly similar to that of the same god on coins of Sicilian or other cities. The heads of Apollo, Mercury, Bacchus, Liber Pater, and Hercules, either in youthful or more manly age, are, on coins and gems, as well as statues, designed after one and the same idea. The law referred to was found in the most beautiful of the images produced by the most celebrated artists, to whom the gods were believed to have manifested themselves in special visions. Thus, Parrhasius boasted that Hercules had appeared to him in the very form in which he had painted the hero. This appears to have been the idea of Quintilian, where he says that the statue of Jupiter from the hand of Phidias had done much to awaken a greater degree of reverence towards this god. The Jupiter of Phidias, the Juno of Polycletus, the Venus of Alcamenes, and afterwards the Venus of Praxiteles, were the noblest prototypes of these deities to all succeeding artists, and, thus embodied, they were adopted and worshipped by all Greece. However, the highest beauty cannot be imparted in an equal degree to every one, even among the deities, as Cotta remarks in Cicero, any more than to all the figures in the most beautiful picture; indeed, this is not more admissible than it would be to introduce only heroes in a tragedy.

CHAPTER III.

The Expression of Beauty in Features and Action.

1. NEXT to a knowledge of beauty, expression and action are to be considered as the points most essential to an artist, just as Demosthenes regarded action as the first, second, and third requisite in an orator. Action alone may cause a figure to appear beautiful; but it can never be considered so, if the action is faulty. An observance of propriety in expression and action ought, therefore, to be inculcated at the same time with the principles of beautiful forms, — because it is one of the constituents of grace. For this reason, the Graces are represented as the attendants of Venus, the goddess of beauty. Consequently the phrase, *to sacrifice to the Graces*, signifies among artists to be attentive to the expression and action of their figures.

2. In art, the term *expression* signifies imitation of the active and passive states of the mind and body, and of the passions as well as of the actions. In its widest sense it comprehends action; but in its more limited meaning, it is restricted to those emotions which are denoted by looks and the features of the face. Action relates rather to the movements of the limbs and the whole body; it sustains the expression. The censure which Aris-

totle passed on the pictures of Zeuxis — namely, that they had no ἦθος, *expression* — can be applied either to expression or action. I will explain myself on this point hereafter.

3. Expression, in its limited as well as more extended signification, changes the features of the face, and the posture, and consequently alters those forms which constitute beauty. The greater the change, the more unfavorable it is to beauty. On this account, stillness was one of the principles observed here, because it was regarded, according to Plato, as a state intermediate between sadness and gayety; and, for the same reason, stillness is the state most appropriate to beauty, just as it is to the sea. Experience also teaches that the most beautiful men are quiet in manners and demeanour. In this view, even abstraction is required in an image not less than in him who designs it; for the idea of lofty beauty cannot be conceived otherwise than when the soul is wrapt in quiet meditation, and abstracted from all individuality of shape. Besides, a state of stillness and repose, both in man and beast, is that state which allows us to examine and discover their real nature and characteristics, just as one sees the bottom of a river or lake only when their waters are still and unruffled, and consequently even Art can express her own peculiar nature only in stillness.

4. Repose and equanimity, in their highest degree, are incompatible with action. The most elevated idea of beauty, therefore, can neither be aimed at, nor preserved, even in figures of the

deities, who must of necessity be represented under a human shape. But the expression was made commensurate, as it were, with the beauty, and regulated by it. With the ancient artists, therefore, beauty was the chief object of expression, just as the cymbal guides all the other instruments in a band, although they seemingly overpower it. A figure may, however, be called beautiful even though expression should preponderate over beauty, just as we give the name of wine to a liquor of which the larger portion is water. Here we also see an indication of the celebrated doctrine of Empedocles relative to discord and harmony, by whose opposing actions the things of this world are arranged in their present situation. Beauty without expression might properly be termed insignificant, and expression without beauty, unpleasing; but, from the action of one upon the other, and the union of the two opposing qualities, beauty derives additional power to affect, to persuade, and to convince.

5. Repose and stillness are likewise to be regarded as a consequence of the propriety which the Greeks always endeavoured to observe both in feature and action, insomuch that even a quick walk was regarded as, in a certain measure, opposed to their ideas of decorum. It seemed to involve a kind of boldness. Demosthenes reproaches Nicobulus with such a mode of walking; and he connects impudent talking with quick walking. In conformity to this mode of thinking, the ancients regarded slow movements of the body as characteristic of great minds. I find it hardly ne-

cessary to remark, that a posture which denotes servitude is different from one that conforms to propriety and good manners. In this attitude a few statues of captive kings are represented; they stand with their hands crossed one over the other, — an act indicative of the deepest submission, — in the manner in which Tigranes, king of Armenia, caused himself to be served by four kings who were his vassals.

6. The ancient artists have observed this sort of propriety even in their dancing figures, with the exception of the Bacchantes. It has been thought by some, that the action of these figures was measured and regulated by a style belonging to dances of a period anterior to that in which they were executed, and that, in subsequent dances of the ancient Greeks, they in their turn were adopted as a standard by which female dancers so governed themselves as not to overstep the limits of modest propriety. The proof of this can be seen in many lightly dressed female statues, of which the greater portion have no girdle, wear no emblems, and are represented as if engaged in a very modest dance. Even where the arms are wanting, it is apparent that one was occupied in supporting the dress upon the shoulder, and the other in slightly raising it from below. This action gives to these figures significance, and at the same time serves to explain their true character. As several of them have ideal heads, one of the two Muses who specially presided over dancing, namely, Erato and Terpsichore, may be represented by them. Statues in this attitude are to be found

in the villas Medici, Albani, and elsewhere. Two figures in the villa Ludovisi, of the size of life, and similar to these, and a few among the Herculaneum statues, have not ideal heads. One of those in the villa Ludovisi has a head of high beauty, but the hair is deficient in that simplicity which is usual in ideal heads; it is artistically twisted together and braided, so as to resemble a fashion of our day. Another, which stands over the entrance to the palace Caraffa Colubrano, at Naples, has a head of high beauty, encircled by a garland of flowers (1). It may, therefore, be the case that these statues were actually erected to beautiful female dancers, for the Greeks conferred on them this undeserved honor, and several Greek epigrams on such statues are still extant. Some of these statues have one breast bared: it is a sure sign that neither of the two Muses above mentioned is intended, because such exposure in them would be a violation of decency.

7. The highest conception of these principles, especially of repose and stillness, is embodied in the figures of the divinities, which, from the Father of the gods down to the inferior deities, show no trace of emotion. Thus, Homer pictures to us his Jupiter as shaking Olympus solely by the bending of his eyebrows and the waving of his hair. Most of the images of the gods are equally tranquil and passionless. Hence, the high beauty exhibited by the Genius, in the villa Borghese, could be expressed only in such a state.

A serene, quiet look has been imparted, not only to figures of the superior divinities, but also

to those of the subordinate marine gods. From some epithets of the poets, we should form an idea of the Tritons different from that usually entertained. In our view, the Greek artists appear to have intended them as images of the calmness of the sea, when it resembles a greenish-blue sky, — an idea which is admirably expressed in two colossal heads of Tritons in the villa Albani, of which mention has already been made.* An engraving of one of them may be seen in the *Ancient Monuments.*

8. Jupiter himself is not uniformly represented with the same degree of serenity. He has a disturbed look on a relievo, belonging to the Marquis Rondanini, in which he is represented immediately after having received a blow on the head, with a wooden mallet, from Vulcan, who stands near, full of expectation, to see Pallas spring forth from his brain. Jupiter sits as if stunned by the blow, and seemingly suffering the pains of parturition, which, through the birth of this goddess, are to introduce into the world all sensual and spiritual wisdom. A copperplate engraving of this work is on the title-page of the second volume of the *Monuments.*

9. The Vatican Apollo was intended to represent this deity in a state of anger over the serpent, Python, slain by his arrows, and at the same time with a feeling of contempt for his victory, which to a god was an easy achievement. As the skilful artist wished to personify the most

* Plate 15.

beautiful of the gods, he expressed only the anger in the nose — this organ, according to the old poets, being its appropriate seat, — and the contempt on the lips. The latter emotion is manifested by the elevation of the lower lip, by which the chin is raised at the same time; the former is visible in the dilated nostrils.

10. As the position and action usually correspond to the passions expressed in the face, both are made to conform to the divine excellence, in statues and figures of the gods. The union of these two qualities may be termed *Decorum*. There is not a single instance in which a god of mature age stands with his legs crossed. A statue of a hero with the legs crossed would have been censured by the Greeks; for such a posture would have been considered unseemly in an orator, as it was, among the Pythagoreans, to throw the right thigh over the left. I therefore do not believe that the statue at Elis — which stood with its legs crossed, and leaned with both hands on a spear — represented a Neptune, as Pausanias (2) was made to believe. Apollo, Bacchus, and Mercury are the only deities thus represented: the first, to personify frolicsome Youth; the second, Effeminacy. There are, however, but few statues of the kind. An Apollo in the Capitoline museum, a few similar figures of him in the villa Medici, and one other in the palace Farnese, stand in this position; the last surpasses all the others in the beauty of its shape and of its head. In one of the paintings from Herculaneum his attitude is precisely the same.

Among the figures of Mercury, there is only a single one known to me which stands thus, namely, a statue in the grand-ducal gallery at Florence, upon which the Mercury in bronze, of the size of life, in the palace Farnese, was moulded and cast. This position is peculiar to Meleager and Paris; the statue of the latter, in the palace Lancelotti, stands in this manner. The young Satyrs or Fauns — two of the most beautiful of which are in the palace Ruspoli — have one foot awkwardly, and, as it were, clownishly, placed behind the other, to denote their character. This is precisely the attitude of the young Apollo *Σαυροκτόνος, the Lizard-killer*, of whom there are two figures in marble in the villa Borghese, and one in bronze in the villa Albani. They probably represent him during the period of his servitude, as herdsman to king Admetus. Of the female divinities I know not one that is represented in this attitude, which would be less becoming in them than in the gods; I therefore leave it undecided, whether a coin of the Emperor Aurelian, on which is a figure of Providence with crossed legs (3), is an antique. This position may, however, befit Nymphs; one of them, of the size of life, which formerly belonged to the family Giustiniani, stands thus; also one of the three Nymphs who are carrying off Hylas, in the palace Albani. From observation of these particulars, I believe myself authorized to doubt the antiquity of an engraved gem on which is represented the (so called) Minerva Medica, — holding a staff entwined by a serpent, and having one leg

thrown over the other, — more especially as the figure in question has the right breast bared, an exposure which is not to be found in a single figure of Pallas. This fact recurred to my recollection when a similar figure on a gem was shown to me as an antique work; but, for the reasons just mentioned, I recognized it as not being such. This attitude was regarded as appropriate to persons in grief; for thus, in a picture described by Philostratus, the weeping warriors stood around the body of Antilochus, son of Nestor, and bewailed his death; and in this attitude Antilochus communicates to Achilles the death of Patroclus, as seen on a relief in the palace Mattei, and also on a cameo, — both of which have been published in my *Ancient Monuments*, — and in a picture from Herculaneum.

11. The ancient artists displayed the same wisdom in their conception of figures drawn from the heroic age, and in the representation of merely human passions, the expression of which always corresponds to what we should look for in a man of disciplined mind, who prevents his feelings from breaking forth, and lets only the sparks of the fire be seen, who seeks to penetrate the latent motives of him who comes to honor him, or to play the spy. The manner, also, in which such a man expresses himself conforms precisely to this idea. Hence, Homer compares the words of Ulysses to flakes of snow, falling abundantly, but softly, upon the earth.// Moreover, the Greek artists were convinced that, as Thucidydes says, greatness of mind is usually associated with a noble sim-

plicity. Even Achilles presents himself to us in this aspect; for, though prone to anger and inexorable in wrath, his character is ingenuous, and without dissimulation or falseness. The ancient artists accordingly modelled the faces of their heroes after the truth thus taught them by experience. No look of subtlety is there, nor of frivolity, nor craft, still less of scorn, but innocence is diffused over them, blended with the calmness of a trustful nature.

12. In representing heroes, the artist is allowed less license than the poet. The latter can depict them according to their times, when the passions were as yet unrestrained by social laws or the artificial proprieties of life, because the qualities ascribed to a man have a necessary relation to his age and standing, but none necessarily to his figure. The former, however, being obliged to select the most beautiful parts of the most beautiful conformations, is limited, in the expression of the passions, to a degree which will not conflict with the physical beauty of the figure which he models.

13. The truth of this remark is apparent in two of the most beautiful works of antiquity. One of them is a representation of the fear of death; the other, of extreme suffering and pain. The daughters of Niobe, at whom Diana has aimed her fatal shafts, are represented in that state of indescribable anguish, their senses horror-struck and benumbed, in which all the mental powers are completely overwhelmed and paralyzed by the near approach of inevitable death. The

transformation of Niobe into a rock, in the fable, is an image of this state of deathlike anguish; and for this reason Æschylus introduced her as a silent personage in his tragedy on this subject. A state such as this, in which sensation and reflection cease, and which resembles apathy, does not disturb a limb or a feature, and thus enabled the great artist to represent in this instance the highest beauty just as he has represented it; for Niobe and her daughters are beautiful according to the highest conceptions of beauty (4).

14. Laocoön (5) is an image of the most intense suffering. It manifests itself in his muscles, sinews, and veins. The poison introduced into the blood, by the deadly bite of the serpents, has caused the utmost excitement in the circulation; every part of the body seems as if straining with agony. By this means the artist brought into action all the natural motive powers, and at the same time displayed the wonders of his science and skill. But in the representation of this intense suffering is seen the determined spirit of a great man who struggles with necessity and strives to suppress all audible manifestations of pain, — as I have endeavoured to show, when describing this statue, in the second part of this work.

15. Even Philoctetes,

> "Quod ejulatu, questu, gemitu, fremitibus,
> Resonando multum, flebiles voces refert,"
> Ennius *apud Cic. de Fin.*, B. 2, ch. 29,

> Whose shrieks and groans, wide echoing through the air,
> Combine with tearful words of wan despair,

has been represented by these judicious artists more in accordance with the principles of wisdom than with the description of the poet, — as is shown by the figures of this hero in marble and on engraved gems, which have been published in my *Ancient Monuments*. The frantic Ajax of the celebrated painter Timomachus was not represented in the act of slaughtering the rams, under the impression that they were the chiefs of the Grecian forces, but after it was completed, and when, restored to the possession of his senses, and overwhelmed by despair, and buried in the deepest sadness, he sat and brooded over his offence. In this manner he is figured in the (so called) "Trojan Tablet," in the Capitoline museum, and on several engraved gems. There is, however, an antique cast in glass, taken from a cameo, which represents Ajax as Sophocles has done, in his tragedy of *Ajax*, that is, killing a large ram, while two herdsmen and Ulysses are standing near, to the latter of whom Pallas is showing this display of rage on the part of his enemy. This rare piece will appear in the third volume of the *Ancient Monuments*.

16. In women, particularly, artists followed the fundamental principle, — taught by Aristotle, and observed in all the tragedies of the ancients which are known to us, — never to represent women in such a way that they shall violate the characteristics of their sex, or appear excessively daring and fierce. For this reason, the relievo which represents the murder of Agamemnon shows Clytemnestra as at a distance from the scene of blood, and

in another chamber, merely holding a torch to light the assassin, not laying hands herself on her husband. A similar circumstance is observed in a picture by the above-mentioned Timomachus, in which the children of Medea are smiling while the dagger of their mother is suspended over them, so that her fury is mingled with compassion as she looks upon their innocence. The representations of this same deed, in marble, present Medea as if still hesitating in the execution of her revenge.

17. In accordance with similar principles, the wisest among the ancient artists strove to avoid the representation of whatever conflicted with beauty. They much preferred to deviate from truth, rather than from beauty, in their figures, — as may be seen, among other instances, in the Hecuba, on a relievo in my *Ancient Monuments.* Though this aged queen of Troy is generally represented with a countenance very much wrinkled, — especially in the statue of her in the Capitoline museum, and on a mutilated relief in the abbey of Grotta Ferrata, — and with long, flaccid, and pendulous breasts on another marble, in the villa Pamfili, which will also be published in the third volume of the *Ancient Monuments;* still, on the work first mentioned, she is figured as a woman who has scarcely passed the maturity of her charms. In judging the figure of Medea on the very beautiful earthen vessels of the Hamilton collection, we must not lose sight of the principle mentioned above, for she is there represented as not older than her daughter.

18. Distinguished men, and rulers, are conceived and represented in a manner worthy of them, and as they would appear before the eyes of the whole world. The statues of the Roman empresses resemble Heroines; displaying no artificial graces either in feature, position, or action; we see in them, as it were, that social propriety which, in the opinion of Plato, is no object of sense. Even as the two celebrated schools of ancient philosophers placed the greatest good in a mode of life which conformed to nature, but the Stoics, in decorum and propriety, so, in this case, also, the observation of artists was directed to the workings of nature when left to herself, unchecked, and when controlled by the observance of decency.

19. On public monuments, the Roman emperors always appear as principal citizens among their fellows, exhibiting nothing of the pride of sovereigns, and seemingly having no prerogatives greater than the by-standers, *ἰσόνομοι*. The surrounding personages are apparently equal to their ruler, who is distinguished as such from the others only by the principal action being given to him. No one who offers any thing to the emperor does so on bended knee, and no one, with the exception of captive kings, bows his body or head when addressing him. Although adulation was carried to great excess, — since we know that the Roman Senate fell at the feet of Tiberius, — yet Art still held herself as proudly erect as when in the height of her glory at Athens. I have observed that captive kings are an exception to the general

application of my remark, even when limited to the monuments which remain to us; but we also know that kings, not conquered, showed to Roman generals this mark of submission, as Plutarch informs us of Tigranes, king of Armenia. When this despot went to visit Pompey, he dismounted from his horse in front of the Roman camp, unbuckled his sword, and delivered it to the two lictors who advanced to meet him; on coming into Pompey's presence, he laid his cap at his feet, and prostrated himself before him.

20. Among other examples which I might adduce to show the degenerate tone of thought, and the extent to which violation of the principle in question has been carried in modern times, is a large relievo on the fountain of Trevi at Rome, which was executed a few years ago. It represents the architect of this aqueduct presenting, on his knees, the plan of it to Marcus Agrippa. I will simply remark that the long beard (6) of this distinguished Roman is in contradiction to every known likeness of him, whether on coins or in marble.

21. When I reflect on the fundamental principles of decency entertained by the ancient artists, I cannot persuade myself that it is the Emperor Adrian who is represented among the figures on the pediment of the temple of Pallas at Athens, because, as Pococke assures us, the figure in question is embracing another, a female figure. Such an act would have been regarded as offending against the dignity of an emperor, and the sanctity of the place. I do not believe, therefore,

that either Adrian, or his wife Sabina, is here impersonated, as Spon claims to have discovered; for I do not so far confide in this author's knowledge of such subjects as to take all his assertions upon trust.

22. It must also be considered here, that, in general, all excess in the passions was rigorously excluded, especially from public works of art, and that the representation of them on public monuments was not allowable, even in a degree which might be very proper and decent in other works, not public. If this be assumed as proved, it may also serve as a principle by which to distinguish counterfeit from genuine objects of antiquity, — a test which may be applied to a coin, in Occo and Mezzabarba, which exhibits an Assyrian man and woman bound to a palm-tree, and tearing the hair from their heads, with the inscription, — "ASSYRIA. ET. PALAESTINA. IN. POTEST. P. R. REDAC. S. C." A connoisseur in coins is obliged to seek the proof that this coin is a counterfeit (7) in the word *Palaestina*, which, according to his showing, is not found on a single Latin-Roman coin; but the same conclusion at which even this learned inquiry arrives might have been drawn from the foregoing remark. I do not pretend to decide whether a person, not of the male, but of the female sex, could with propriety be represented in a picture as rending her hair in the extremity of her grief and despair; but such an act would have been considered as great a violation of decency in a symbolical figure on a coin, as though it were on a public monument, a triumphal car,

and associated with the principal figures on it; it would be inconsistent with the dignity of its place; it would, as the Greeks say, not be *κατὰ σχῆμα, appropriate.* It is this principle which governed the representation of Hecuba on the relievo at Grotta Ferrata, just mentioned. Her head is bowed down, and her right hand pressed upon her forehead, in token of the fulness of her sorrow, — according to the instinctive promptings of grief or deep thought. In the bitterness of her anguish, while sitting by the dead body of her son, Hector, she sheds not a tear; for tears are crowded back upon their source when grief is choked by despair, as Seneca makes Andromache to say: —

"Levia perpessæ sumus, si flenda patimur,"

No heavy ills are ours, when tears can flow.

23. The wisdom of the ancient artists in regard to expression becomes more clearly manifest when we contrast their works with those of most artists of modern days, in which much is not signified by little, but little by much. The ancients would have termed the latter mode *παρένθυρσος*; and their commentators would have explained it by *τὸ παρὰ πρέπον*, or *παρὰ σχῆμα, θύρσῳ χρῆσθαι*, that is, *an unseasonable use or introduction of the Thyrsus*, namely, on the stage, since tragic personages only were accustomed to carry it. The expression, consequently, signifies *the magnifying of trifles into undue importance.* I introduce this explanation here, because I do not think that the precise meaning of the word *παρένθυρσος* has

been given by commentators on Longinus. It would, however, exactly designate the faults in expression committed by most modern artists. For, as regards action, their figures resemble the comic performers of the ancient amphitheatres, who were obliged to violate the truth of nature by exaggeration, in order to make themselves intelligible, in the broad light of day, to the most ordinary classes of the people on the outermost rows of seats; whilst, in the expression of their faces, they are like the ancient masks, for the distortion of which we may find an explanation in the cause just stated. This exaggerated style of expression is even inculcated by Charles le Brun, in his *Treatise on the Passions*, — a work in the hands of most young students of art. In his illustrative drawings, the passions are not only represented, in the face, in an extreme degree, but in several instances the expression of them amounts even to frenzy. It is supposed that expression is taught on the principle by which Diogenes lived; "I imitate musicians," said he, "who strike a higher note in the scale than the one upon which they wish to fall." But, as the impetuosity natural to the young rather disposes them to adopt extremes than a mean, they will in this way hardly acquire the right tone, from the difficulty of keeping it when once struck. There is an analogy in this case with the passions themselves, which, as Chrysippus the Stoic taught, resemble the passage down a steep, precipitous descent; if a traveller thereon once gets to running, he can neither stop himself, nor yet turn back. Horace says, that the Shades

in the Elysian Fields listen less attentively to the tender odes of Sappho than to the lyrics of Alcæus, who sings of battle, and tyrants deposed; and so it is, that, from youth upward, we are more captivated by wild tumults and dread alarums than by peaceful incidents and wisdom's tranquil life. Hence, the youthful designer is more readily guided by Mars into the battle-field, than by Pallas to the calm society of the wise. The doctrine of repose and stillness, in the drawing of his figures, is as repugnant to his feelings, but yet as necessary, as precepts of virtue are to all youthful persons. As, according to Hippocrates, the cure of the foot depends on repose, so also must improvement with such artists commence in repose.

24. Moreover, we do not find in those figures of the ancients which are in a still position any of that meretricious, artificial grace so common among the moderns; to mention one instance of it, the hinder foot is frequently made to rest upon the toes alone. Now the ancients gave this position to the foot only when the action represented running or walking, — never when a figure was in repose. It is true that a relievo in my possession, and copied into the *Ancient Monuments*, shows Philoctetes with his right foot thus placed; but the position of the foot, in this instance, expresses the pain endured by the hero from the serpent's bite, which disabled him from bearing his weight on it.

25. These explanations and reflections, in relation to action, deserve more attention, on some ac-

counts, from those who are beginning to study works of art, than even conceptions of beauty, because they are more readily comprehended, and also better appreciated, by those who do not possess a quick perception of the beautiful. On comparing ancient and modern works, the difference in this particular is so striking, that the latter appear to be the reverse of the former. Every one perceives that the greater number of modern artists, especially sculptors, have been governed by principles of an entirely different spirit from those just considered. They confidently believed that art was capable of improvement by such principles, and imagined that, like several other arts, it had not yet attained the highest degree of excellence in action. For this reason, the successors of Raphael deserted him; and the simplicity of his manner, in which he imitated the ancients, was termed a marble manner, that is, one in which the repose resembles death. This corruption advanced with steady and gradual increase from the time of Michael Angelo to that of Bernini; and although the constant tendency of the manners and customs of social life to become more and more natural and unrestrained threw light upon this portion of art, still a trace of the new school was always perceptible. One of the most distinguished painters now living, in his picture of *Hercules between Virtue and Pleasure*, — which has recently been sent to Russia, — supposed that Virtue was not represented sufficiently beautiful under the shape of Pallas, unless her right, forward foot was made to rest upon the toes only, — just as if she

were about to crack a nut. Such an elevation of the foot would have been considered by the ancients a sign of pride; or, according to Petronius, of shamelessness; according to Euripides, this was the attitude of the Bacchantes.

26. He who desires to institute a comparison between ancient and modern sculptors must reflect upon what I have said of beauty generally, and of action in particular. If a certain learned member of the French Academy had had any knowledge of the works of the ancients, he would not have ventured to say that modern, meaning thereby French, sculptors had finally succeeded, not only in equalling, but even in surpassing, the finest productions of Rome and Athens.* To convince one who expresses such opinions of their incorrectness is always a difficulty; but, in the following instance, it seemed to me an impossibility; — a Russian nobleman, whilst preparing for his third journey to Italy, said to me, in the presence of other persons, that he regarded all statues, the Apollo, the Laocoön, the Farnese Hercules, as nothing, when compared with the Mercury of Pigalle, in the Sans-Souci, near Potsdam.

27. Others, who appear more modest in their opinions, and believe that a Michael Angelo, a Puget, a Fiammingo, need not shrink from comparison with an Apollonius or an Agasias, may take beauty as the touchstone of their comparative

* Burette, Diss. sur les Effets de la Musique, dans les Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript., T. v., p. 133.

merit. Let us commence by offering to their view the best heads by the heroes of modern art; let us place before them the finest figure of Christ, by Michael Angelo, the celebrated head of Prudence (8) on the monument of Paul III., in St. Peter's church, by Guglielmo della Porta, the scholar of Michael Angelo, then the much-admired head of St. Susanna (9) by Fiammingo, and that of St. Bibiana (10) by Bernini: I name the last statue, because it is always selected by those who wish to extol the artist. If any one should think me too severe, when I assert, in another place, that Michael Angelo originated and promoted this corruption of taste, even in sculpture, let him consider, among other examples, a relievo by him, in marble, in the possession of the sculptor Bartolommeo Cavaceppi. This work, which represents Apollo flaying Marsyas, is in the very reverse of good taste. I can, moreover, justify my assertion by reference to the sketches of this great artist, of which the sculptor above mentioned has a rare collection. These manifest the spirit of his genius in the clearest light, and the wildness of it is everywhere visible. What imperfect ideas of youthful beauty the celebrated Algardi had is proved by his well-known relievo of St. Agnes, in the church of St. Agnes, on the Piazza Navona. Her figure is rather ugly than beautiful; and the head is absolutely drawn awry. And yet a copy of this piece, in gypsum, is suspended as a study in the French Academy at Rome.

28. It is found, on comparing modern with ancient painting, that the result of the comparison

is less unfavorable to it than to modern sculpture. The reason probably is, that painting, since its restoration, has been more practised, and consequently has furnished greater facilities than sculpture for the formation of eminent masters. Leonardo da Vinci and Andrea del Sarto, who saw but few works of the ancients, thought and toiled as we cannot but imagine the Greek artists did. The *Christ and the Pharisees* from the hand of the former, (11) and the *Madonna del Sacco* of the latter, (12) at Florence, are worthy of antiquity. Indeed, there is so much of innocence and innate grace in the heads of Andrea, that a Pythagorean would say, the soul of Protogenes or Apelles had found a dwelling-place in his body. It may be said, generally, that the spirit of grace manifested itself more fully to those painters who flourished in the golden age of the art, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, than to their successors. After a long interval, it reappeared in Annibal Caracci. The *Dead Christ*, (13) in the Royal Farnese Gallery at Naples, is one, among others of his imperishable works, which testifies how worthily his conceptions corresponded to the dignity of his subject. The altar-piece in the house-chapel of the palace Pamfili, on the Corso at Rome, appears to be a repetition of the same picture, by the artist himself. In it he has figured the Saviour as a beardless young hero, and imparted to him an ideal elevation, adopted from the most beautiful of the ancient heads, for the purpose of representing the fairest among the children of men. Guercino has given a similar

heroic face, without beard, to his dead Christ, in a beautiful picture in the palace Pamfili, on the Piazza Navona; it puts to shame the mean and vulgar countenance which Michael Angelo has given to his heads of the Saviour.

29. To the honor of the present age, however, it must be conceded, that in it the diffusion of knowledge in regard to beauty has kept pace with the general cultivation of the intellect. This remark is true in an especial manner of sculpture. The modesty of our Roman artists will not admit of a comparison between themselves and a Buonarotti; but, though difficult, it is not impossible to attain a similar superiority in scientific knowledge. There are, on the contrary, a few of them, who, in beautiful conformations, forms, and conceptions, far surpass all their predecessors in modern times. The reason is to be found in a more attentive study of the works of antiquity, which, during the few years that have elapsed since the veil fell from the eyes of our sculptors, have become the object of their imitation. A love for art — which, in England, has become an impulse to ambition, and, in Germany, exists even on the throne — has, in conjunction with good taste, been the most efficient promoter of this result. For our artists, having been required to make copies of antique works, have consequently been more confined to an imitation of the style of the ancients; whereas, prior to this time, art was almost exclusively devoted to churches and monasteries, where the style of Algardi and Bernini was regarded as the evangelical law, from which there was to be no deviation.

CHAPTER IV.

Proportion. — Composition.

1. Next to the consideration of beauty in general, I proceed to speak first of the proportion, and then of the beauty, of single parts of the human body. Indeed, it is impossible to conceive of beauty without proportion; the latter is the basis of the former. Single portions of the body, however, can be beautiful in shape, yet not beautiful in their relation to the whole figure. It is appropriate, therefore, to make some special remarks upon proportion, as a distinct idea, and unconnected with the spiritual attributes of beauty. These remarks, with a few thoughts on grace, I append as supplementary to the general consideration of beauty.

2. As health, without any other enjoyment, seems to be no great blessing, so exactness in proportion is not of itself sufficient to make a figure beautiful. Science being entirely distinct from good taste and sensibility to beauty, the proportions of a figure which are founded on science may be faultless, and yet the figure itself not be beautiful. Many artists are skilled in proportion; but few have produced beauty, because soul and feeling, rather than intellect, are required

in its creation. The ideal part of beauty was always regarded by the ancient artists as the higher part of it; they therefore made accuracy of proportion subordinate, and adjusted, as it were, proportion to beauty with a freedom which is justifiable, when warranted by good reasons. Thus, for example, the length of the chest from the neck-pit to the pit of the stomach ought to be only one face; yet it is generally an inch, and frequently more than an inch, longer, that the chest may have a grand arch. So, likewise, the distance between the pit of the stomach and the navel — the usual length of which is one face — was increased when the artist wished to give slimness to his figure: this deviation is actually found in the shape of fine, well-built men.

3. The structure of the human body consists of triads. Three is the first uneven number, and the first number of relation, for it contains in itself the first even number, and another which unites the two together. Two things, as Plato says, cannot exist without a third. The best band is that which binds together most securely itself and the thing bound, in such a manner that the first is related to the second as the second is to the intermediate. Hence the number three contains in itself beginning, middle, and end. It was regarded as the most complete of all numbers, and by it, according to the doctrines of the Pythagoreans, all things were determined. Even the stature of our bodies bears a relation to this number; for it has been observed, that, in the

third year of life, man attains one half of his height.

4. The body, as well as its principal members, is composed of three parts. The body consists of trunk, thighs, and legs; the lower extremity, of thighs, legs, and feet; and a similar disposition is true of the arms, hands, and feet. The same construction can be shown in other organs which are not so evidently composed of three parts. The relation existing among these divisions is the same in the whole body as in its parts. The head and body of a well-built man will have the same relation to his thighs, legs, and feet, as his thighs have to the legs and feet, and as the upper arm has to the fore-arm and hands. The face, likewise, has three parts, namely, thrice the length of the nose; but the head does not contain four lengths of the nose, as a certain author,* very erroneously, wishes to make it out. The upper portion of the head — namely, the distance from the roots of the hair, on the forehead, to the crown of the head, measured perpendicularly — contains only three fourths of a nose-length; that is to say, the length of this part is to that of the nose as nine is to twelve.

5. Vitruvius was of opinion, that, in architecture, the proportion of columns is adopted from the proportion of the human body; and that the diameter of their lower extremity is to their height as the length of the foot is to that of the whole body. His assumption, however, is not borne

* Watelet, Réflex. sur la Peint.

out by nature, though it might be true of figures formed by art. This proportion is not to be found in the oldest columns, either in Magna Græcia and Sicily, or in Greece proper.; the height of most of them is scarcely five diameters of the lower extremity of the shaft. As the proportion of the head to the entire figure on some very ancient Etruscan works is less than we usually find it in nature, — as I have mentioned in the second chapter of the third book, when speaking of the gem on which are engraved the five chiefs who went against Thebes, — one must either say that the proportion of columns has not been determined from nature, or that the assertion of Vitruvius is not correct: I am of the latter opinion. If he had studied the proportion of the oldest Doric columns, — of which, however, he makes not the least mention, notwithstanding their importance, — he would himself have perceived that his comparison of columns with the human body is arbitrary and unfounded. For the purpose of lending at least some degree of probability to his hypothesis, I supposed that it might be based on the proportion of some ancient figures of which the head constitutes a larger portion than it does in nature. But even this supposition is not generally true; indeed, the more ancient the figures, the less ground there is for it; for in the most ancient, small Etruscan figures of bronze, the head is scarcely the tenth part of their whole height.

6. It is generally the case, that the side of the head which is averted is made flatter than the

other. This is very evident in the heads of Niobe, but even more so in some few almost colossal heads, — for example, the portrait-head belonging to the sculptor Cavaceppi. It was a remark of the celebrated Count Caylus, that the heads of antique figures are generally very large and coarse; but, so far as I can judge, there is no ground for this censure, which was suggested by Pliny's criticism of Zeuxis and Euphranor, who are said to have formed their figures with big heads and joints. The distinguished Count ought to have let this criticism pass without any comment, as one of little or no meaning, since the reverse of it is apparent to every one who attentively observes the works of antiquity. Whence, do you suppose, originated the absurd notion, that the head of the Hercules Farnese was found some miles apart from the body? Simply from the fact, that, to the vulgar conception of a Hercules, the head seems rather small. Such critics as these would find a similar occasion for censure in more than one Hercules, especially if they were to examine the figures and heads of the hero engraved on gems. The reverse of Caylus's opinion is far more susceptible of proof. We can form an idea of the proportion observed in this particular by the ancient artists, from the proportion of the Ionic capital, which, in columns of this order, was regarded as the head (1). Now, as modern artists have far exceeded the ancient proportion in the Ionic capital, we are at liberty to infer that they have also erred by making the heads of their figures too large. It is impossible for me,

therefore, to subscribe to the opinion either of the ancient or the modern writer. For the proportion of the head to the neck and the rest of the body was better known to the ancients, and especially to artists like Zeuxis, than to us, — which is apparent, among other examples, from a passage in the hymeneal song by Catullus, on occasion of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. "The nurse," says the poet, "when she sees Thetis on the day following her bridal night, will no longer be able to make the thread meet around her neck." By consulting the commentators on this passage, the reader can see whether it has been made perfectly clear. The custom to which allusion is made is not unknown, even at the present day, in some parts of Italy, and may serve as an illustration of the passage in question. The neck of a marriageable youth or maiden is measured with a thread or ribbon. A string of double the length is then taken, the two ends are brought together, and the middle of it is held between the teeth. If, now, it is sufficiently long to be carried from the mouth over the head without difficulty, it is a sign that the person is still a virgin; but if not, the contrary (2) may be inferred. I have made this trial on some young persons, and, as it has seemed to me, successfully.

7. It is probable that the Grecian, like the Egyptian, artists had rules by which not only the greater, but the smaller, proportions of the body were accurately determined; and that the length, breadth, and circumference of parts suitable to each age and station were laid down with precis-

ion, and taught in the writings of those artists who treated of symmetry. The accuracy with which these proportions were established is likewise the reason why the same system of art is found in all, even ordinary, figures by the ancient artists. For, notwithstanding differences in execution which had become a subject of observation even to the ancients, as early as the works of Myron, Polycletus, and Lysippus, still all the old works appear to have been executed by followers of one and the same school. As a connoisseur would recognize in different violin-players who had been taught by one master the style of their teacher, so the same general principles are visible in the drawing of the ancient sculptors, from the greatest to the least. Departures from them, it is true, are occasionally observed. This is the case with a small, beautiful torso of a nude female figure, belonging to the sculptor Cavaceppi, the body of which, from the navel to the privates, is unusually long. It is probable that this figure was copied from a living individual in whom the part was thus shaped. I do not wish, however, to palliate in this way actual errors; for, if the ear is not parallel with the nose, as it should be, but is placed as it is on an Indian Bacchus, in the possession of the Cardinal Alessandro Albani, it is an inexcusable fault.

8. It must be acknowledged that the ancient artists have at times erred in proportion, — an instance of which occurs to me in a beautiful relievo in the villa Borghese; one of the arms of

the female figure to whom Auge hands the youthful Telephus, in swaddling-clothes, is too long. Errors of proportion occur even in beautiful heads, as may be seen in the head of the laughing Leucothea (3), in the Campidoglio; the ears, which should be parallel with the nose, fall below it. Incorrect drawing may also be observed in a head of Venus, which is a beautiful head in other respects, in the villa Albani; the outline of it is the most beautiful that can be imagined, and the mouth is most lovely; but one eye is awry. Two female figures, in two Herculaneum paintings, are manifestly faulty in every proportion, and much too long. In the *History of Art** I remarked that, in an Egyptian statue and the Apollo Belvedere, the retreating foot is larger than that which is stationary. I am now convinced, more than ever, that its increased size was intended to compensate for what it might apparently lose by being drawn back. I have remarked, in the Laocoön, the same inequality in the size of the feet. The left leg, in fact, of the Apollo, which is the retreating leg, is longer than the right by a couple of inches (4). It would be possible for me to strengthen this opinion by additional examples.

9. The rules of proportion, as adopted in art from the proportions of the human body, were probably first established by sculptors. Afterwards, they became canonical in architecture also. Among the ancients, the foot was the standard of all

* Vol. I., Book 2, chap. 2, § 8. — Tr.

large measurements, and by its length sculptors determined the height of their statues, giving to them, as Vitruvius states, six lengths of the foot; for the foot has a more determinate length than the head or the face, from which modern sculptors and painters generally deduce the proportions of their figures. Hence, Pythagoras calculated the height of Hercules from the length of his foot, with which he measured the Olympic stadium at Elis. We are, however, by no means authorized to conclude from this, as Lomazzo has done, that the length of his foot was one seventh of his whole height. The statements of this writer, relative to the proportions established by the ancient artists for the different divinities, — such as ten faces to the height of a Venus, nine to a Juno, eight to a Neptune, and seven to a Hercules, — made by him with all the confidence of an eye-witness, and with a trustful reliance on the credulity of his readers, are imaginary and false.

10. This relation of the foot to the whole body strikes a certain learned scholar as absurd and inconceivable; and Perrault absolutely rejects it. It is, however, grounded on observation of nature, even in persons of a slender make, and is found not only in Egyptian figures, on accurate measurement of them, but also in Grecian statues, as most of them would show, if their feet had been preserved. Any one can convince himself of the existence of this proportion in the figures of divinities, although a greater length than is natural has been given to some few parts; thus, for instance, in the Apollo, who was a little more

than seven heads high, the foot upon which he stands is one quarter of a Roman palm (2¼ in. Eng.) longer than his head. Albert Durer has given precisely the same proportion to his figures, eight heads tall; he makes the length of the foot one sixth of their height. The shape of the Venus de' Medici is uncommonly slender; and yet, notwithstanding her head is very small, her height does not contain more than seven heads and a half; her foot is a palm and half an inch in length (9.30 in.), and her whole height, six palms and a half (4.76 feet).*

11. That portion of the body which extends from the pit of the stomach to the navel usually contains, as modern artists say, only one length of the face; they therefore commonly request their pupils to notice that the ancient sculptors made it, in the figures of divinities, longer than nature by half a length of the face. This is also an error; for whoever has an opportunity to see nature in beautiful slender men will find this region formed as in those statues.

12. A minute detail of the proportions of the human body would have been a very easy matter in this treatise on Greek drawing of the naked figure. But mere theory without practical instruction would afford just as little information, in this work, as it does in others into which it has been largely introduced, without even the assistance

* It seems as though there must be some mistake here, for the height assigned differs from that usually given to the Venus de' Medici. In the Guide-book of Florence the height is stated at 4. 9. 8 ft., French measure, which is equivalent, in English, to 5.122 ft. — Tr.

to be derived from illustrative figures. Attempts have been made to subject the proportions of the body to the rules of abstract harmony and music; such endeavours, however, offer but feeble hopes of instruction to the designer and those who are seeking to acquire a knowledge of the beautiful. Investigations to determine the proportions of the body, in numbers, would be of less assistance, on this occasion, than the instructions of the fencing-school on a battle-field.

13. But, that I may not leave those who are beginning to draw entirely without practical information on this point, of Proportion, I will mention at least the proportions of the face, taken from the finest antique heads, and likewise from beautiful life, as an infallible rule by which to work, and to test the works of others. This rule has been expressed with more accuracy and precision than ever before, by my friend, Antony Raphael Mengs, the most accomplished instructor in his art; and he has probably hit upon the exact method observed by the ancients. Draw a vertical line, and divide it into five equal parts; the uppermost fifth is for the hair. Again divide the remainder of the line into three equal parts. Draw a horizontal line through the lower extremity of the first of these three divisions, forming with the perpendicular line a cross. The horizontal line must be as long as two of the three parts into which the length of the face is divided. Let curved lines be drawn from the extreme points of this line to the upper extremity of the fifth part originally set off; these form the small-

er end of the oval of the face. Now divide one of the three parts of the length of the face into twelve equal portions. Let three of them, that is, a fourth of one of these three divisions, or one twelfth of the length of the face, be measured off on both sides of the point of intersection of the horizontal and perpendicular lines; two of these three on each side indicate the space between the eyes. Let three other portions be measured off on both outer extremities of the horizontal line. The space which now remains, included between the quarter at the outer end of the horizontal line and the quarter at the point of intersection of the two lines, is equal to two quarters or six of the twelve portions mentioned above, and gives the length of an eye. One quarter is the width of the eye, and also the distance from the tip of the nose to the opening of the lips, and from this point to the curvature of the chin, and thence to the tip of the chin. The breadth of the nose to the wings of the nostrils contains just a quarter. The length of the mouth requires two quarters; it is therefore equal to the length of the eyes, or to the height of the chin from its point to the line of junction of the lips. One half of the face, measured from the roots of the hair, gives the length from the chin to the pit at the lower extremity of the neck. This method of drawing a face will, I think, be intelligible without a plate, and whoever observes it cannot fail to draw a face of true and beautiful proportion (5).

14. To these remarks upon proportion I will

annex a few observations upon Composition. The principal rules of the ancient artists on this point were, first, fewness of figures; second, repose in action. It was a rule of the drama, first introduced by Sophocles, not to allow more than three persons to be present on the stage at one time. It appears from a very large number of ancient works, that the same principle was adopted and observed also in art (6). We find, indeed, that the ancient artists strove to express much, an entire action, in fact, in a single figure, — as the painter Theon attempted in his figure of a warrior, to which he gave the attitude and expression of one repelling an assault, though no assailants were represented. As they all drew their subjects from the same source, namely, Homer (7), they were in fact limited to a certain number of figures, because in a great many of the scenes in that poet only two or three persons are engaged: such, for example, is the celebrated interchange of arms by Glaucus and Diomedes, so frequently represented in ancient times; also the enterprise of Ulysses and Diomedes against the Trojan camp, together with the death of Dolon, and numberless other incidents formerly represented. It is the same with heroic history anterior to the Trojan war, as every one knows; most of its incidents were fully comprised and completed in three figures.

15. As regards repose in composition, the works of ancient artists never present, like those of modern times, an assemblage of persons, all seeking to be heard at the same time, or resembling a

crowd hastily gathered together, in which each one is straining to look over his neighbour's shoulder. No; their images resemble an assemblage of persons who inspire and demand respect. They understood very well what we call *grouping;* but we must not expect to find composition of this kind on that class of relievi with which one most frequently meets, because these are all taken from sepulchral urns (sarcophagi), the narrowness of whose shape would not always admit of it. The composition of some of them, however, is rich, crowded with figures; as, for instance, the *Death of Meleager*, which is published in the *Ancient Monuments.* But, whenever the space was ample enough to allow the figures to be arranged in a variety of positions, then even these urns may serve as models in composition, as it is manifest from the antique paintings in my *Monuments*, and from numerous paintings brought from Herculaneum.

16. Of Contrast, as it is termed by modern artists,* I shall say nothing. Every one will acknowledge that it was as well known to the masters of antiquity as to those of the present day; not less familiar to them than Antithesis — which is Contrast in art — was to the poets and orators of Greece. Contrast, therefore, like antithesis in writing, ought to be easy and unaffected, and not to be regarded as an important or elevated point of knowledge in one art more than in the other; though modern artists value it as a substitute for every excellence, and an excuse for every fault. On this principle Chambray justifies Raphael for

having, in his design of the *Massacre of the Innocents*, engraved by Marco Antonio, made his female figures stout, and the murderers lean. He says that it was done for the purpose of contrast, that the murderers might thereby be rendered still more horrible.

CHAPTER V.

Beauty of Individual Parts of the Body.

1. NATURE is the best teacher as to the beauty of single parts of the body. In particulars she is superior to art, but in generals art can soar above her. This is true, especially in regard to sculpture, which cannot represent life in those points in which painting is able to approach it very closely. But since some few parts, a soft profile, for instance, are seldom found in perfection, even in the largest cities, we must, for this very reason, study them — to say nothing of the nude parts — in the ancient figures. A description of particulars is at all times difficult, and consequently is so in this instance.

2. In considering beauty I have proceeded analytically, that is, from the whole to its parts. Equal benefit, however, might be derived from teaching it synthetically, and studying it as a whole after having examined its parts separately. The latter method is perhaps preferable in oral instruction, imparted by means of questions, in which the teacher requires from his pupils some account of the form of single parts, and thus tries and proves their knowledge of the beautiful. But, as a knowledge of general principles must,

in every regular system, be presumed before any particular observations are made, although the former have grown out of the latter, I have given a preference to the analytical mode of proceeding.

3. In considering those parts which individually constitute beauty, attention must be especially directed to the extremities of the human figure, not only because in them reside life, motion, expression, and action, but also because their configuration is the most difficult, and principally determines the peculiar difference which distinguishes the beautiful from the ugly, and modern from ancient works. In drawing, head, hands, and feet are the principal points; they must, therefore, be the parts first taught.

4. In the conformation of the face, the Greek profile, as it is called, is the first and principal attribute of a high style of beauty. This profile consists in a nearly straight or slightly depressed line which the forehead and nose describe in youthful heads, especially of the female sex. It is of less frequent occurrence in cold(1) than in mild climates, but, wherever it exists, the form of that face may be beautiful: for grandeur is produced by straightness and fulness; but tenderness, by gentle inflexions of the forms. That this kind of profile is a source of beauty is proved by its opposite; for the more the nose is depressed, the greater is the deviation of the line of the face from the form of beauty; and if a face, when viewed sideways, shows a bad profile, it is useless to look for beauty in it. The nose of Egyptian

figures, which is very much depressed, — in opposition to the straight outlines of all other parts, — proves that, if any form in works of art does not conform to the straight lines of the most ancient style, sufficient reasons can be assigned for the deviation. The old writers make use of the term *square* nose. It is not probable that they understood by it a full nose, as Junius explains the word, for this gives no idea of its shape, but that they applied it to the slightly indented profile just mentioned. We might give another explanation of the word, and understand it to mean a nose with a broad, flat back, and sharp edges, of the kind which may be seen in the Pallas, and the Vestal, as she is called, of the Giustiniani palace (2). This form, however, is found only in statues, like these, of the most ancient style, — indeed, in these two alone.

5. Having thus noticed the beauty of the profile, that is to say, the beautiful form of the whole face, I will now examine it in detail, commencing with the head. One of the principal points of a beautiful face consists in the conformation of the forehead, which should, above all things, be low. Our own observation in part, and partly the remarks of the ancient writers, teach us this; a high forehead was even regarded by the ancients as ugly. Yet a high, open forehead is not ugly, but rather the reverse. This, though seemingly a contradiction, is very easily explained. The forehead should be low in youth. It generally is low in the bloom of life, before the hair which covers it falls off, and leaves it bare. Na-

ture herself has endowed the age of beauty with this characteristic; the absence of it, therefore, will always detract from the beauty of form of the face. It would, consequently, be a violation of the characteristics of youth, to give to it the high, open forehead which belongs to manhood. We can easily convince ourselves of this by covering with the finger the front hair of a person who has a low forehead; the additional height thus given to it will show the inharmoniousness of proportion, if I may so express myself, and enable us to understand on what principle a high forehead is unfavorable to beauty. Even the Circassian women know this; and, for the purpose of making the forehead seem still lower than it really is, they comb down the frontal hair, cut short for the purpose, so that it reaches nearly to the eyebrows. It may be inferred from what Arnobius says, that women who had a high forehead placed a band over it, with the design of thereby making it seem lower.

6. When Horace sings the praises of *insignem tenui fronte Lycorida*, he means to say, "Lycoris, celebrated for her low forehead." He was at least so understood by the old commentators, who explain the expression *tenui fronte* in the following manner: — *Angusta et parva fronte, quod in pulchritudinis forma commendari solet*, "A narrow and small forehead, which is usually commended in a beautiful form." But Erizzo did not understand the passage; for on the words *tenui fronte* he remarks as follows: — *Tenuis et rotunda frons index est libidinis et mobilitatis simplici-*

tatisque, sine procaci petulantia dolisque meretricis, "A low, round forehead denotes sensuality, fickleness, and simplicity, unaccompanied by wanton forwardness or meretricious arts." Francis Junius, likewise, has not understood the meaning of the word *tenuis* in this passage; he explains *tenuem frontem* by *ἁπαλὸν καὶ δροσώδες μέτωπον* from Anacreon, "the soft and dewy forehead," i. e. of Bathyllus. In Martial, instead of *frons tenuis*, "low forehead," we have *frons brevis*, "short forehead," — a point of beauty which he wishes to see in a handsome boy.

7. The lower the forehead, the shorter is the hair on it; and the points of the lowest and shortest hairs usually curve forwards over it. We observe this forward curve of the hair on all beautiful heads of Hercules, both in his youth and manhood; and it is, in a measure, so characteristic of them, that it not unfrequently enables us to detect a modern head on engraved gems. Petronius represents Circe with precisely such hair; but the beauty of it has not been understood either by his transcribers or commentators. For, in the following passage, *Frons minima et quæ radices capillorum retroflexerat*, "A very low forehead, on which the roots of the hair turned backward," we must unquestionably substitute for the word *radices*, "roots," the word *apices*, "points," namely, of the hair, or some word of similar meaning, since *apex* signifies the point of a thing. How can the roots of the hair curve forward? The French translator of Petronius has, in his remarks on this passage, supposed an artificial head-dress, be-

neath which the natural roots of the hair were visible. Can any thing be more absurd? The meaning of the phrase, *frons minima*, "a very low forehead," which is mentioned by Petronius in his description of the form of Circe, is not expressed by *front petit*, "small forehead," as the French translator has rendered it, because the forehead may be broad and at the same time low.

8. A low forehead is so peculiar to the ideas which the ancient artists had of a beautiful head, that it is a characteristic by which an antique can frequently be distinguished from a modern work. Many heads, which I could not approach sufficiently near to examine, I have either recognized to be modern, solely by the high forehead, or else this conformation first excited doubts as to their age, which were afterwards verified by further investigation.

9. To complete the beauty of a youthful head, the frontal hair should grow in a curve down over the temples, in order to give the face an oval shape. Such a forehead is to be found in all beautiful women; and this form of it is so peculiar to all ideal and other youthful heads of the ancients, that we do not see on any figures, not even those of mature manhood, the receding, bare corners over the temples, which usually enlarge as life advances beyond that age when the forehead is naturally high. Few modern sculptors have noticed this peculiarity; and wherever new youthful male heads are placed upon antique statues, the hair is carried obliquely over the fore-

head, and strikingly displays the faulty conception of modern days in regard to the natural beauty of its disposition. Some of our artists have made portrait-figures of young persons of both sexes, with whom I am acquainted, and who have low foreheads; yet they have given so little attention to the beauty of which I now speak, that they have added to the height of the foreheads, and made the growth of hair commence farther back, with the presumed intention of forming an open forehead. Bernini belongs to this class; but in this particular, as in many others, he has mistaken the reverse of beauty for beauty's self. Baldinucci, his panegyrist, wishing to adduce a very striking example of his fine taste, says that, when he modelled from life a statue of Louis XIV., then in the prime of youth, he smoothed the hair away from his forehead. In this instance, as in many others, the babbling Florentine revealed the poverty of his own knowledge.

10. This form of the forehead, and especially the short hairs with a forward curve, are manifest on all beautiful heads of Hercules, whether in youth or manhood, and are, with the thickness of neck formerly noticed, also a symbol of his strength. These hairs seem intended to represent those between the horns of bulls. They are, therefore, a characteristic of Hercules, and distinguish his image from the heads of his beloved Iole, which, like his own, are covered by a lion's skin. The hair of this beautiful woman lies in curls on her forehead, as may be seen, among other instances, in a head (3), cut in high relief,

in the royal Farnese museum at Naples. The characteristic in question was one reason, among others, which led me to the true appellation of a beautiful head, in intaglio, which went by the name of Iole, but was in fact a Hercules, in the former Stosch museum. It is also to be seen in a youthful head crowned with laurel, cut on a carnelian, by Allion, a Greek artist, which is in the Grand-ducal gallery at Florence. A Hercules, therefore, is also represented in this figure, and not an Apollo, as it is assumed to be. Another Hercules, cut by Onesas, in the same gallery, is, like the other, crowned with laurel; but, in the engravings of it, the forehead has been restored — as the upper part of the head is wanting in the gem — by persons who had never noticed the peculiarity in question. Many coins, especially of Alexander the Great, bear the impression of a youthful head covered with a lion's skin; if connoisseurs in coins had noticed the foregoing fact, they would have recognized the image of Hercules, instead of erroneously supposing it to be the head of Alexander, or some other king.

11. The frontal hair is, likewise, an invariable and infallible characteristic by which the heads of Alexander the Great can be distinguished. But it resembles, in its arrangement, the hair of Jupiter, — whose son he wished to be considered, — being smoothed upwards, and then falling down again in a curve on each side of the face, in several divisions. Plutarch, in that passage of the life of Pompey in which it is said that he wore his hair like Alexander, calls this manner of dressing

it ἀναστολὴν τῆς κόμης, "a pushing back of the hair": my remarks upon it will be found in the second part of this History.

12. For further confirmation of the utility of the observation made by me as to the short hairs, curving forwards, on the forehead of Hercules, I will remark that it may be applied, in particular, to a youthful head, which, together with a shoulder, is engraved on a gem in the museum of the king of France. This head presents a figure draped with a thin, transparent tissue, which is drawn from the shoulder upon the the head, and even over the garland of laurel that encircles the head; at the same time, it veils the lower part of the face, so as to cover the tip of the nose, but still in such a manner that one can plainly distinguish and recognize the features.

13. A special treatise has been written upon this stone, in which it is pretended that the head represents Ptolemy, — king of Egypt, and father of the famed Cleopatra, — who bore the surname of Auletes, or the Flute-player, because he loved to play upon the flute, and that the drapery which veils the lower part of his countenance — for the writer did not perplex himself about the veil over the head and shoulder — is the band termed φορβειά and φόρβιον, which was tied by flute-players over their mouths, and had in it an aperture through which the flute was applied to the lips. There might be some plausibility in this explanatory statement, if we had no definite idea of the band in question; but a triangular al-

tar (4), in the Campidoglio, shows us a Faun, with this band over his mouth, blowing two flutes. As an engraving of this head is to be found in several books, it must of course have been known to the author of the treatise to which I have alluded. We also see a flute-player (5), with his mouth thus bandaged, in a picture from Herculaneum. It is evident from both these instances, that the φορβειά was a narrow band, which passed over the mouth and ears, and was tied on the back part of the head; so that it has nothing to do with the manner in which this figure is veiled.

14. As this head is the only one of its kind, it deserves further investigation, as some conjectures may be made which will come nearer to its true signification. If, with this view, it be compared with the heads of a young Hercules, a perfect resemblance between them will be discovered. The forehead has the usual swollen roundness and bigness; the front hair is arranged in the manner previously mentioned; and the cheeks, as low down as the under part of the ear, are beginning to be covered with hair, συγκατιοῦσα κόμη τῷ ἰούλῳ παρὰ τὸ οὖς, "the hair of his head uniting, near the ear, with the down of his cheek";

> "Cui prima jam nunc vernant lanugine malæ,"
>
> Whose cheeks are now putting forth their vernal down;

which, according to an ancient commentary, is a precursor of the beard. The ear, moreover, appears to resemble the Pancratiast ear of Hercules.

15. But what meaning can I attach to the

drapery which veils this head, and what relation can it have to Hercules? I imagine that by it the artist intended to represent the hero at the time when he was serving Omphale, queen of Lydia. This conjecture is suggested to me by a head of Paris, in the villa Negroni, which is veiled in precisely the same manner, as high up as the edge of the lower lip. This vestment, therefore, appears to have been in common use among the Phrygians and Lydians, — which would naturally be the case with contiguous nations. Besides, these two people were, according to the testimony of Strabo, confounded with each other by the tragic poets, more especially as they had both been governed at one time by Tantalus. Philostratus, moreover, informs us that the customs of the Lydians were, in many respects, the reverse of those of the Grecians; that the former were accustomed to conceal by a thin drapery parts of the body which the latter left uncovered. If these two historical notices be taken into consideration, my supposition ought not to appear unfounded.

16. As neither the Lydians nor the Phrygians existed in the time of Philostratus, it is impossible that he should have founded his remark on personal observation of the Lydian dress. In his day, the customs of those who dwelt in Asia Minor had assumed quite a different aspect. He must, therefore, have derived his information relative to the practice, usual among the Lydians, of wearing mantles, from some more ancient writer, not known to us. Euripides, moreover, speaks of

a similar custom among the Phrygians, in that scene of his tragedy of *Hecuba* in which Agamemnon is introduced, who, seeing the murdered body of Polydorus, son of that queen of Troy, lying before her tent, inquires who the dead Trojan is; it cannot be a Greek, he says, for he is wrapped in a mantle: —

τίν' ἄνδρα τὸν δ' ἐπὶ σκηναῖς ὁρῶ
Θανόντα Τρώων; οὐ γὰρ Ἀργείων πέπλοι
Δέμας περιπτύσσοντες ἀγγέλλουσί μοι.

He is not speaking here of the vestment in which the dead were clothed, but of a garb peculiar to the Phrygians, and differing from the dress of the Greeks. But, if the reader understands the passage as applicable to the Phrygian dress generally, my commentary may, in that case, be passed by as unnecessary.

17. I did not make the closing remark of the last paragraph from any mistrust of the conjecture proposed by me, — that it was a customary practice among the Lydians to veil the face; on the contrary, I think that my explanation of the gem in question will receive all the confirmation it needs from a painting on a vase of terra cotta, of which an engraving may be found in the large *Hamilton Collection*. I will mention here, that this vase was brought from Alexandria, in Egypt, whither it had been carried, at some earlier period, from the kingdom of Naples.

18. This picture, undoubtedly, represents Hercules at the time when he was sold to Omphale, who sits here in company with three other female figures. The queen is enveloped in a thin, trans-

parent drapery, thrown over her other dress, which not only completely covers her left hand, but is even drawn upwards, over the lower part of the face, upon the nose, precisely in the manner exhibited by the head on the gem. If the engraver of this head, therefore, had exhibited the whole figure of Hercules, he would have draped it precisely in this manner; for even the men, in Lydia, wore a mantle which descended to the feet, and was called *βασσάρα*. Generally, it was also denominated *Λύδιος*, "Lydian," with the addition of *λεπτός*, "thin." We must, notwithstanding Casaubon's conjecture, give this reading to Athenæus, whose meaning is at the same time elucidated by the preceding remarks. The right hand of Hercules, who advances towards Omphale, rests upon his club; and his left touches her knees, — a form of supplication common among those who desired to obtain a suit from another. Between these two figures hovers a small male figure, seemingly a Genius, but it might probably be Mercury, by whom Hercules was sold to the Lydian queen. If so, it would be the sole instance among the ancient monuments in which this god has been figured with long wings on his back. Or this winged and perfectly white child may represent the Soul of Iphitus, whom Hercules slew, and may signify that he was sold into slavery in obedience to the oracle of Apollo, that he might expiate the murder. Or it may be Cupid, who calls off Omphale from her conversation, that she may receive, in the youthful hero who presents himself before her, her future lover. The female figure sitting in front

of Omphale has her hair cut off short behind, after the fashion of men. This is altogether unusual; and it must, therefore, have some peculiar meaning. I do not know whether to venture a conjecture relative to its signification. But might not this figure, perchance, represent a maiden who had been spayed? — the Lydians having been the first to effect such a change, by artificial means, in the nature of woman. It is said that Andramytes, who was the fourth king of the country before Omphale, invented the operation, in order that he might use such female creatures instead of eunuchs. By what personal mark was a woman of this kind to be indicated, except by her hair? which is short, as young men usually wear it, apparently for the purpose of signifying thereby that her nature as a woman had undergone a change. Young eunuchs, also, wore their hair in this manner. The learned painter of this vase intimated, therefore, by means of such a person, more plainly than he could have done otherwise, the alteration she had suffered, the land in which it was effected, and also the presence of a queen of the Lydians. He may, possibly, have had other reasons, but it is unnecessary for me to inquire further regarding them, as I may then pass over in silence what occurs to me on this occasion relative to the Tribades, and the excessive wantonness of the Lydian women.

19. The reader may, by this time, begin to think the investigation of this remarkable gem a digression. Properly, therefore, I ought to resume the thread of my subject, and notice the beauty

of the remaining features of the face. But I cannot refrain from embracing the opportunity to mention two heads of a young hero which perfectly resemble each other. Their configuration is beautiful and ideal. The arrangement of the hair on the forehead is like that of Hercules; and both are encircled by a diadem. The peculiarity in both is a hole above each temple, into which the thumb can be easily introduced, and which would, therefore, seem to have been made for the purpose of attaching horns. In one head the holes had been filled up by some modern sculptor. From the conformation of the face, and from the hair, we cannot infer that the horns were goats' horns, nor the heads those of young Fauns. The probability is, that small ox-horns were attached here. They were given to the heads of Seleucus I., king of Syria; but these heads do not resemble the likenesses of him. I am consequently of opinion that Hyllus, son of Hercules, is represented by them. His images, like those of Ptolemy Hephæstion, had a horn on the left side of the head; the one on the right side has been gratuitously added by the sculptor. One of these heads is in my possession; the other, in the museum of the Signor Bartolommeo Cavaceppi.

20. The eyes, as a component part of beauty, are still more essential than the forehead. In art, they are to be considered more in regard to their form than their color, because their beauty does not consist in the latter, but in the former, which is not at all affected whatever the color of the

iris may be. With respect to the form of the eyes, generally, it is superfluous to say that one beauty in them is size, just as a great light is more beautiful than a small one. But the size of the eye conforms to the eye-bones, or its socket, and is manifested by the edge and opening of the eyelids, of which the upper describes a rounder curve towards the inner corner of a beautiful eye than the under. All large eyes, however, are not beautiful; projecting eyes never are. The upper eyelid of the lions in Rome, at least of Egyptian lions, opens in such a manner as to describe a complete semicircle. The eyes of heads in profile, on relievi, and especially on the most beautiful coins, form an angle the opening of which is towards the nose. The corner of the eye towards the nose is deeply sunken, and the contour of it terminates at the highest point of its curve, — that is to say, the pupil itself is in profile. The opening of the eye being truncated in this manner, the head acquires an air of majesty, and an open, elevated look. The pupil of the eye is, also, denoted on coins by means of a raised point on its centre.

I will not repeat here what has already been observed by others, that the word *βοῶπις*, by which Homer, in particular, characterizes beautiful eyes, does not signify *ox-eyed;* but merely remark that the *βου*, in this as well as in many other words compounded with it, is a prefix, as the grammarians say, signifying enlargement. Hence the scholiast of Homer translates *βοῶπις* by *μελανόφθαλμος*, "black-eyed," and *καλὴ τὸ πρόσωπον*, "beau-

tiful in face." The reader can also see what the learned Martorelli says on this point, in his *Antiquities of Naples.*

21. The eyes, in ideal heads, are always more deeply seated than they are commonly found to be in nature, and the upper edge of the socket consequently appears to be more prominent. Deeply seated eyes, however, are not a characteristic of beauty, and impart a not very open expression to the countenance. But, as art could not, in this particular, always conform to the teachings of nature, it adhered to the lofty style and the grandeur of conception by which it is characterized. For, the eyes and eyebrows of large figures being farther removed from the spectator than those of smaller ones, they would be scarcely visible at a distance, if the eyeball had been placed as prominently as in nature, — it being, for the most part, quite smooth in sculpture, and not designated as in painting, — and if, for the same reason, the upper edge of the socket had not been made more prominent. On this point, therefore, art deviated from nature, and thus brought forth, by means of depth, and of elevation in this portion of the face, greater light and shadow, and imparted more animation and power to the eye, which, otherwise, would have been destitute of expression, and, as it were, lifeless. This would have been conceded even by Elizabeth, queen of England, who wished her portrait to be painted entirely without shadow. Art, in this case, rose above nature, and justly, too, and afterwards established from this form of the eyes

a rule of almost universal application, even to small figures. For the eyes of heads on coins of the best days of art lie just as deeply as in those of later date, and the edge of the socket is more prominent; in proof of which let any one examine the coins of Alexander the Great, and his successors. In works of metal, some things were signified, which, in the bloom of art, were omitted in those of marble. Thus, for example, the light, — as artists term it, — or the pupil, was denoted by a raised point on the centre of the eye, on coins bearing the heads of Gelon and Hiero, even prior to the days of Phidias. But, so far as we know, a pupil was not given to heads in marble until some time during the first century of the Cæsars, and there are only a few which have it. One of them is the head of Marcellus, grandson of Augustus, in the Campidoglio. For the reason assigned above, and with precisely the same view, eyes appear to have been inserted. This was a common practice among Egyptian sculptors of the earliest ages. In many heads of bronze, the eyes have been hollowed out, and substitutes of a different material introduced. The head of the Pallas of Phidias was of ivory, but the pupil of the eye was a gem. I shall speak particularly of such eyes hereafter.

22. Thus it was well understood and settled what constituted beauty of the eye generally. And yet, without departing from this form, the eye was so differently shaped in the heads of divinities, and ideal heads, that it is of itself a characteristic by which they can be distinguished.

In Jupiter, Apollo, and Juno, the opening of the eye is large, and roundly arched; it has, also, less length than usual, that the curve which it makes may be more spherical. Pallas, likewise, has large eyes; but the upper lid falls over them more than in the three divinities just mentioned, for the purpose of giving her a modest, maiden look. But the eyes of Venus (6) are smaller; and the elevation of the lower lid imparts to them that love-exciting and languishing look which the Greeks term ὑγρόν, "liquid." The celestial Venus, or Venus Urania, is distinguished from Juno by an eye of this kind;* but as, like Juno, she wears a diadem, she has been confounded with the latter by those who had not noticed her distinctive peculiarity. On this point many modern artists seek to surpass the ancients, and have supposed that, by giving to their figures prominent eyeballs, starting from their sockets, they expressed the idea intended to be conveyed by Homer in the term *ox-eyes*, or *large eyes*, as before mentioned. The modern head of the figure, in the villa Medici, erroneously supposed to be Cleopatra (7), has eyes which resemble those of a person who had died by hanging; and a young sculptor, now resident in Rome, has given precisely such eyes to a statue of the Madonna (8) — which he was commissioned to execute — in the church of San Carlo, on the Corso.

23. Nothing, not even the line of the eyelids, escaped the penetration of the ancients in their

* Plate 16, B and C.

observation of beauty; for the word ἑλικοβλέφαρος, in Hesiod, seems to apply to a particular form of them. This word has been explained very vaguely and loosely by the host of Greek grammarians since his time, by καλλιβλέφαρος, "with beautiful eyelids." But the scholiast of Hesiod, on the contrary, seems to penetrate into its inner and secret meaning, and thinks that it denotes eyes whose lids describe a line the undulation of which has been compared to the flexure of the young tendrils of the vine, ἕλικες. This comparison, which in its way explains the epithet, may be admitted, if we consider the waving line described by the edge of beautiful eyelids, and clearly seen in the finest ideal heads, as in the Apollo, the heads of Niobe, and especially in the Venus. In colossal heads, as the Juno in the villa Ludovisi, this waving line is drawn yet more distinctly, and more perceptibly expressed. The heads of bronze in the Herculaneum museum have marks on the edges of the lids which indicate that the eyelashes, βλεφαρίδες, were represented by small pins inserted in them.

24. The beauty of the eye itself is enhanced, and, as it were, crowned, by the eyebrow; and the eyebrow is beautiful in proportion to the delicacy of the line formed by the hairs, which is denoted, on the finest heads in sculpture, by the sharp edge of the bone over the eyes. Among the Greeks, such eyebrows were termed *eyebrows of the Graces*. But, if they were much arched, they were compared to a bent bow, or to snails, and in this case were never considered beauti-

ful (9). The former is the *ὀφρύων τὸ εὔγραμμον*, "graceful line of the eyebrows," which Lucian found so beautiful in the heads of Praxiteles. Petronius, in describing the characteristics of beauty in an eyebrow, uses the following words, — *Supercilia usque ad malarum scripturam currentia, et rursus confinio luminum pene permixta*, "Eyebrows which reach, at one extremity, even to the cheek, and, at the other, almost join the confines of the eye." I believe that, in this passage, we might read *stricturam* instead of *scripturam*, as the latter word conveys no meaning; yet it must be acknowledged that *strictura* cannot be applied here in the sense in which it is used by authors. But, if we extend to it the signification of the verb *stringere*, from which it is derived, Petronius would be understood to say, "even to the boundary of the cheeks"; for *stringere* means precisely the same as *radere*, that is, *to just touch in passing* (10).

25. As the hairs which compose the eyebrows are not an essential part of them, it is not necessary that they should be represented. In portrait-heads, as well as ideal heads, they may be omitted both by painters and sculptors; and this has been done by Raphael and Annibal Caracci. The eyebrows of the most beautiful heads in marble, at least, are not represented by separate hairs. Eyebrows which meet have already been mentioned. I have stated my opinion to be unfavorable to them, and have good reason to be astonished that Theocritus, the poet of tenderness, could find joined eyebrows beautiful, and that other writers have imitated him in this particular.

Among these is Isaac Porphyrogenetes, who gives such eyebrows, σύνοφρυς, to Ulysses; the supposed Phrygian, Dares, also, to show the beauty of Briseïs, mentions the junction of her eyebrows. Bayle, although he had no knowledge of art, considered this as rather a strange charm in a beautiful woman like Briseïs, and thinks that such eyebrows would not, in our days, be regarded as an attribute of beauty. But he, as well as others, may be assured, that connoisseurs of beauty, even in ancient times, held precisely the same opinion as theirs; among them I will mention Aristænetus, who praises the parted eyebrows of a beautiful woman. The eyebrows of Julia, daughter of Titus, in the villa Medici, and of another female head, in the palace Giustiniani, are joined together. We are not, however, to suppose that their junction, in these instances, was made for the purpose of adding to the beauty of the individuals, but simply to produce a faithful likeness. Suetonius mentions that the eyebrows of Augustus joined; they are not so represented, however, in a single head of him (11). Eyebrows which meet are, as a Greek epigram remarks, an indication of pride and bitterness of spirit.

26. Next to the eyes, the mouth is the most beautiful feature of the face. The beauty of its form, however, is known to all, and requires no special notice. The lips answer the purpose of displaying a more brilliant red than is to be seen elsewhere. The under lip should be fuller than the upper. As a consequence of this forma-

tion, there is found beneath it and above the chin a depression, the design of which is to impart variety to this portion of the face, and give a fuller roundness to the chin. In one of the two beautiful statues of Pallas, in the villa Albani, the lower lip projects, but imperceptibly, in order that a greater degree of seriousness may be expressed in her aspect.* The lips of figures of the most ancient style are usually closed; but, in the later periods of art, they are not entirely (12) closed in all figures of divinities, either of the male or female sex; and this is especially the case with Venus, in order that her countenance may express the languishing softness of desire and love. The same remark holds true of heroic figures. Propertius also refers, in his use of the word *hiare*, to the opening of the mouth of a statue of Apollo, in the temple of this god on Mount Palatine, at Rome: —

> "Hic equidem Phœbo visus mihi pulchrior ipso
> Marmoreus tacita carmen hiare lyra."
>
> L. 2, *Eleg.* 31, *vers.* 5.
>
> More beauteous than the God his marble form I see;
> Though hushed the lyre, the lips are breathing melody.

In portrait-figures, the reverse is usually the case; and heads of the Roman emperors, in particular, have the lips invariably closed. The edge of the lips, in some few heads of the older style, is denoted merely by an incised line; but in others it is elevated (13) quite imperceptibly, and, as it were, pinched up, for the purpose,

* Plate 18, B. Front view of the mouth of the Pallas Albani, of the size of the original. — Germ. Ed.

probably, of indicating more distinctly the line of it in figures which stood at a certain distance from the spectator. Very few of the figures which have been represented laughing, as some Satyrs or Fauns are, show the teeth. Among the images of divinities, only one statue with such a mouth, namely, an Apollo of the older style, in the palace Conti, is known to me.

27. In images whose beauties were of a lofty cast, the Greek artists never allowed a dimple to break the uniformity of the chin's surface. Its beauty, indeed, consists in the rounded fulness of its arched form, to which the lower lip, when short, imparts additional size. In order to give this form to the chin, the ancient artists made the lower jaw larger and deeper than nature usually fashions it, having observed this to be the case in the most beautiful of her conformations. As a dimple — by the Greeks termed *νύμφη* — is an isolated, and somewhat accidental, adjunct to the chin, it was not regarded by the Greek artists as an attribute of abstract and pure beauty, though it is so considered by modern writers (14). Hence, it is not to be found either in Niobe and her daughters, or in the Albani Pallas, or in Ceres on coins of Metapontus, or in Proserpine on coins of Syracuse, — images of the highest female beauty. Of the finest male heads, neither the Apollo nor the Meleager (15) of the Belvedere has it, nor the Bacchus in the villa Medici, nor indeed any beautiful ideal figure which has come down to us. The head of an Apollo in bronze, of the size of life, in the museum of

the Roman College, and the Venus (16) at Florence, alone have it, as a peculiar charm, not as any thing appertaining to the beautiful form of the chin. It was also given to the head of the statue of Bathyllus, which stood in the temple of Juno at Samos, as Apuleius informs us; but, notwithstanding Varro calls this dimple an impress from the finger of Cupid, it does not disprove the correctness of my remarks.

28. A rounded fulness of the chin, therefore, is an attribute of its beauty which was universally acknowledged, and introduced in all figures of superior merit. Consequently, when, in drawings made from them, the lower part of it seems, as it were, to be pinched in, it may be inferred with certainty that the contraction proceeds from the ignorance of the copyist; and when such a chin is found in antique ideal heads, it may justly be suspected that some modern ignorant hand has been attempting to improve upon them. Therefore I doubt whether the beautiful Mercury of bronze, in the Herculaneum museum, had originally such a chin as it now has, especially as we are assured that the head of it was found broken into many pieces. Few heads from modern sculptors are unexceptionable in the chin. In the larger number of them it is too small, too pointed; sometimes, it has the appearance of being pinched in all around. The figures in the works of Pietro da Cortona are always distinguishable by their somewhat small chin. — I forgot to notice another imperfection in the chin of the Medicean Venus (17), namely, its flattened tip, in the middle

of which is a dimple. Such flatness of surface is not to be found either in nature or in a single antique head. As, however, our sculptors are continually making copies in marble of this statue, they imitate with the utmost exactness the unusual flatness of its chin, as a beauty, and they cannot be convinced that a broad, flat chin is not beautiful.

29. It was customary with the ancient artists to elaborate no portion of the head more diligently than the ears. The beauty, and especially the execution, of them is the surest sign by which to discriminate the antique from additions and restorations. If, therefore, in a case of doubt as to the antiquity of engraved gems, it should be observed that the ear is only, as it were, set on, and not worked out with the utmost nicety, the workmanship may unquestionably be pronounced modern (18). In portrait-figures, when the countenance is so much injured as not to be recognized, we can occasionally make a correct conjecture as to the person intended, if it is one of whom we have any knowledge, merely by the form of the ear; thus, we infer a head of Marcus Aurelius from an ear with an unusually large inner opening. In such figures the ancient artists were so particular about the ears, that they even copied their deformities, — as one may see, among other instances, in a beautiful bust belonging to the Marquis Rondinini, and on a head in the villa Altieri.

30. Besides the infinite variety of forms of the ear on heads modelled from life, or on copies of

such heads, we observe an ear of quite a singular shape, that is found not only on ideal figures, but also on some which represent particular individuals. The cartilages of it seem to be beaten flat, and swollen; its inner passage is, consequently, made narrower, and the whole outer ear itself is shrunken, and diminished in size.* Having, at first, observed this peculiar form of the ear on a few heads of Hercules, I conjectured that a secret meaning was involved in it. The description given of Hector by Philostratus has, I think, furnished me with a key to its explanation.

31. This writer introduces Protesilaus speaking, and makes him describe the stature and characteristics of the Greek and Trojan heroes in the Trojan war. In this narration, he particularly notices the ears of Hector, and says that *ὦτα κατεαγὼς ἦν*, that is, "his ears were broken and crushed." These injuries were received, not in games of the arena, as Philostratus expressly declares, — because such exercises had not, at that time, been introduced among the Asiatics, — but in contests with bulls. He also explains his understanding of the term, *κατεαγὼς ὦτα*, "broken ears," by a circumlocution, *ἀμφὶ παλαίστραν αὐτῷ πεπονημένα τὰ ὦτα*, that is, "ears which have been belabored in the palæstra": such ears he ascribes to Nestor. I do not understand, however, in what sense it could be said of Hector that he got ears of this description in fighting with bulls; and Vigenère, the French translator of Philostratus, was

* Plate 8, B. A Pancratiast ear.

no less perplexed by this statement than myself. I, therefore, believe that, in the last version of this author, of which an edition was published at Leipsic, the translator has sought to evade all difficulty by means of a general expression, inasmuch as he has rendered ὦτα κατεαγὼς by *athletico erat habitu.*

32. Philostratus, in this instance, is probably speaking in the words of Plato, who represents Socrates as making the following inquiry of Callicles: — "Tell me, have the Athenians been made better by Pericles, or, on the contrary, loquacious and corrupt?" Callicles answers, — "Who will say this, except those whose ears are crushed?" *Τῶν τὰ ὦτα κατεαγότων ἀκούεις ταῦτα*: that is, "Who will say this, except people who know nothing else than how to contend in the arena?" This was probably intended as a sarcasm upon the Spartans, who were less devoted than other Greeks to the arts which Pericles had introduced into Athens, and fostered there, and who held in higher esteem athletic exercises, — although Serranus, in his translation of the passage, has given to it a meaning entirely different from mine. He renders it thus: — *Hæc audis ab iis, qui fractas obtusasque istis rumoribus aures habent,* — that is, "You hear these things from persons whose ears are broken and stunned by such tittle-tattle." My supposition in regard to the Spartans rests upon another passage of Plato, in the Protagoras, which says, in reference to the characteristics that distinguished the Spartans from other Greeks, *Οἱ μὲν ὠτά τε κατάγνυνται*, "Who, indeed, have their ears

crushed." But even this expression has been wrongly explained by Meursius, who assumes that the Spartans lacerated their own ears, *aures sibi concidunt;* and hence, he understood no better the following words also, ἱμάντας περιειλίττονται; he supposed the meaning to be, that the Spartans, after having mangled their own ears, wound leathern thongs around them. But every one will readily understand that the reference here is to the cestus worn by boxers, which was bound about the hands. The same explanation of the passage had already been given by a learned scholar before mine was offered.

33. An athlete with such ears is termed in Lucian ὠτοκάταξις, "one who has the marks of blows on his ears"; and Laertius, when speaking of the philosopher Lycon, who was a famous athlete, uses the word ὠτοθλαδίας, which has a similar signification. The latter word is explained by Hesychius and Suidas to signify τὰ ὦτα τεθλασμένος, "one with crushed ears"; it cannot be understood in the sense of *mutilated ears*, applied to it by Daniel Heyne. Salmasius, who quotes this passage of Laertius, dwells at length on the word ἐμπινής, but passes over without comment the more difficult term ὠτοθλαδίας.

34. In the first place, Hercules has such ears, because he won the prize, as Pancratiast, in the games which he himself instituted at Elis, in honor of Pelops, son of Tantalus, as well as in those which Acastus, son of Pelias, celebrated at Argos. In the next place, Pollux is represented with such ears, because he obtained the victory, as Pancra-

tiast, in the first Pythian games at Delphi. In the villa Albani is a large relievo, on which is the figure of a young hero with an ear of this form, to whom I gave, in consequence, the name of Pollux, and, in my *Ancient Monuments*, I have shown the correctness of the appellation. Such ears may also be observed on the statue of Pollux on the Campidoglio, and on a small figure of the same hero in the Farnesina. But it is to be remarked that not all the images of Hercules have the ear thus formed. There are seven statues which represent him as a Pancratiast, and, consequently, with the characteristic of a Pancratiast; one of them, in bronze, is in the Campidoglio; of the other six, in marble, one is in the Belvedere, another in the villa Medici, the third in the palace Mattei, the fourth in the villa Borghese, the fifth in the villa Ludovisi, and the sixth in the garden of the villa Borghese. Of heads of Hercules with ears of this shape, I can point to some in the Campidoglio, the palace Barberini, and the villa Albani; but the most beautiful of them all is a Hermes (19) belonging to Count Fede, which was found in Adrian's villa, at Tivoli. If the Pancratiast ears had been observed on two beautiful bronze busts of a youthful Hercules, of the size of life, in the Herculaneum museum, they alone would have truly denoted the person represented, without any assistance from the conformation, and the fashion of the hair, by which, also, the likeness might have been recognized. But, neither characteristic having been noticed, the younger bust was pronounced a Marcel-

lus, grandson of Augustus, and the elder, a Ptolemy Philadelphus. There is a small nude male figure, of bronze, belonging to the family of the Massimi, which, before observing the ears, I had set down as a modern work; but their Pancratiast form led me, afterwards, to a more correct conclusion. Now, as I am convinced that no one, and especially no artist, had ever noticed this form of the ear prior to myself, it was of course conclusive evidence to my mind of the antiquity of the head of the figure, and, on more careful examination, I detected in it a resemblance to the heads of Hercules. From the leathern bottle on the left shoulder, this figure would seem to denote Hercules *the Tippler*. I, therefore, believe that the statue of Dioxippus — of whom Pliny makes mention as having been victor in the Pancratium, apparently without exertion or resistance — did not have ears of a form similar to those of a Pancratiast, and that, in this respect, it differed from the statues of other Pancratiasts.

35. The beautiful statue of Autolycus had such ears; and they were given, as a distinctive mark, to many of the finest statues of antiquity, which represented Pancratiasts, and were executed by Myron, Pythagoras, and Leochares. The right ear of the figure in the villa Borghese, erroneously termed a Gladiator (20), likewise has this form, though it escaped observation even at the time when the left ear, being mutilated, was restored. Two ears, thus formed, may be seen on the statue of a young hero in the villa Albani, and on a similar statue which formerly stood in the pal-

ace Verospi, but is now in the museum of Henry Jennings, of London. By means of such ears, I think that I have discovered, in the Hermes of a philosopher, in the villa Albani, the philosopher Lycon, successor of Strato, in the Peripatetic sect. In his youth, he had been a famous Pancratiast, and, as far as I can recollect, is the only philosopher of whom this is stated. As, according to Laertius, he had crushed ears, and his shape still showed the development of an athlete, *τήν τε πᾶσαν σχέσιν ἀθλητικὴν ἐπιφαίνων*, even after he had renounced all gymnastic exercises, the name which I give to this Hermes is thereby rendered very probable. As, moreover, the ears are thus formed on the beautiful youth, of bronze, in the Herculaneum museum, which has the shape of a Hermes, and is inscribed with the name of the artist, Apollonius, son of Archias of Athens, I infer it to be the likeness of a young athlete, and not of the emperor Augustus in his youth, whom, besides, it does not resemble. I observe, in conclusion, that a statue in the Capitoline museum, which is called a Pancratiast, cannot represent a person of this description, because the ears are not shaped in the way which I have described.

36. The ancient sculptors strove to display all their skill not less in the hair than in the ears. Hence, the former, as well as the latter, is a sign by which to distinguish the modern from the antique; for later artists differ so much from the ancients in respect to the hair, partly in its arrangement, and partly in its execution, that the

difference must be immediately apparent (21) even to a novice in knowledge of the art. Of the hair upon the forehead I have already spoken, remarking at the time how it and its peculiar arrangement distinguish a Jupiter, or a Hercules, from other divinities.

37. The workmanship of the hair differed according to the quality of the stone. Thus, when the stone was of a hard kind, the hair was represented as cut short, and afterwards finely combed, — which I shall again mention in its proper place, — because it is impossible to work out loosely flowing and curled hair from stone of this sort, since, in addition to its too great hardness, it is also brittle. In marble, on the contrary, and certainly in male figures executed at a flourishing period of art, the hair was made to curl in ringlets, — except in portrait-figures of persons who had short or straight hair, in which case the artist would necessarily imitate it. But, though on female heads the hair is smoothed upward, and gathered in a knot on the back of the head, and consequently is without ringlets, still we can see that it follows a serpentine course, and is divided by deep furrows, the object of which is to produce variety, and light and shade. The hair of all Amazons is executed in this manner, and it might serve as a model to our artists in statues of the Madonna.

38. The hair of all figures which belong to a flourishing period of art (22) is curly, abundant, and executed with the utmost imaginable diligence. By modern artists, on the contrary, it is scarcely

indicated; this is a fault, especially in female heads. Hence there is a deficiency of light and shade in this part, for they cannot be produced where the grooves are superficial. One of the reasons why so little labor has been bestowed upon the hair by modern artists might seem to be that its appearance comes nearer to the reality when it is represented either as smooth, or confined in a mass; still, on the other hand, art requires even such hair to be disposed in deep curves. The heads of the Amazons, on which there are no curls, may serve as models in this particular. There is, moreover, a certain arrangement of the hair, peculiar to the Satyrs or Fauns, as I shall show hereafter, which has been adopted almost universally by modern artists for male heads, probably because it gives less trouble in the execution. This style appears to have been introduced principally by Algardi.

39. The hair of the Fauns or young Satyrs is stiff, and but little curved at its points. It was termed by the Greeks *ἐνθύθριξ*, "straight hair," and by Suetonius *capillus leniter inflexus*, "hair slightly bent." By such hair it was, apparently, intended to represent them as having a sort of goat's hair; for the old Satyrs, or the figures of Pan, were made with the feet of a goat. Hence, the epithet *φριξοκόμης*, "bristly," has been applied to Pan. But if, in the Song of Solomon, the hair of the bride is compared to the fleece of a goat, the remark is to be understood of Oriental goats, whose hair was so long that they were sheared.

40. It is common both to Apollo and Bacchus, and to them alone of all the divinities, to have the hair hanging down upon both shoulders. This fact merits particular attention, because mutilated figures (23) may thereby be recognized as figures of them.

41. Children wore long hair until the age of puberty, as we learn from various sources, and among these Suetonius, in the passage where he speaks of the five thousand Neapolitan children with long hair whom Nero assembled at Naples. Youths who had attained this age were accustomed to wear the hair cut shorter, especially behind, — except the inhabitants of Eubœa, whom for this reason Homer terms *ὄπιθεν κομόωντες*, "long-haired behind."

42. I cannot, on this occasion, refrain from saying a few words also in regard to the color of the hair, more especially since a misconception in relation to it has grown out of several passages in the ancient writers. Flaxen, *ξανθή*, hair has always been considered the most beautiful; and hair of this color has been attributed to the most beautiful of the gods, as Apollo and Bacchus, not less than to the Heroes (24); even Alexander had flaxen hair. I have, elsewhere, corrected the interpretation of a passage in Athenæus so as to make it conform to this idea. The passage in question has hitherto been understood, even by Francis Junius, to mean that Apollo had black hair. But a note of interrogation, placed at the end of it, entirely reverses its meaning; *Οὐδ' ὁ ποιητὴς [Σιμωνίδης] ἔφη, λέγων χρυσοκόμαν Ἀπόλλωνα ;*

"Did not the poet, Simonides, call him the golden-haired Apollo?" Hair of this color is also called μελίχροος, "honey-colored"; and the remark of Lucretius, *Nigra μελίχροος est*, "Honey-colored is black," is a confirmation of what I have asserted above; for the poet, when speaking of the false flatteries addressed to women, quotes one in illustration, namely, that a maiden with black hair is called μελίχροος, — thus ascribing to her a beauty which she does not possess. Moreover, the interpretation of Simonides hitherto received is a contradiction of the father of poets, who does not even once mention hair of a black color.

CHAPTER VI.

Beauty of the Extremities, Breast, and Abdomen. — Drawing of the Figures of Animals by Greek Masters.

1. The beauty of form of the other parts of the figure — the extreme parts, hands and feet as well as surfaces — was determined by the ancient artists, in their works, with equal regard to congruity. Plutarch appears to show no more knowledge of art on this point than on any other. He asserts that the attention of the ancient masters was exclusively directed to the face, and that other parts of the figure were not elaborated with similar assiduity. It is not more difficult in morals, where the extreme of virtue borders upon vice, to practise any virtue within its just limits, than it is in art to execute the extremities, by the formation of which the artist displays his knowledge of the beautiful. But time and man's violence have left few beautiful feet, and still fewer beautiful hands, remaining. The hands of the Venus de' Medici (1), which have been the occasion of exposing the ignorance of those who, criticizing them as antique, pronounced them faulty, are modern. In this respect, the Venus resembles the Apollo Belvedere, whose arms below the elbow are also modern.

2. The beauty of a youthful hand consists in a moderate degree of plumpness, and a scarcely observable depression, resembling a soft shadow, over the articulations of the fingers, where, if the hand is plump, there is a dimple. The fingers taper gently towards their extremities, like finely shaped columns; and, in art, the articulations are not expressed. The fore part of the terminating joint is not bent over, nor are the nails very long, though both are common in the works of modern sculptors. Beautiful hands are termed by the poets hands of Pallas, and also hands of Polycletus, because this artist was the first to shape them beautifully. Of beautiful hands, still remaining, on youthful male figures (2), there is one on that son of Niobe who lies prostrate on the earth, and another on a Mercury embracing Herse, in the garden behind the Farnese palace. Of beautiful female hands (3) there are three, — one on the Hermaphrodite in the villa Borghese, and two on the figure of Herse mentioned above: the latter furnishes the very rare, indeed the sole, instance in which both hands have been preserved. I am now speaking of statues and figures of the size of life, not of relievi.

3. The most beautiful youthful legs and knees of the male sex are indisputably, in my opinion, those of the Apollo Σαυροκτόνος, in the villa Borghese, an Apollo with a swan at his feet, in the villa Medici, a similar one in the palace Farnese, and a Bacchus in the villa Medici. The beautiful Thetis in the villa Albani, which I shall hereafter describe, has the most beautiful

legs (4) of all the female figures in Rome. The knees of youthful figures are shaped in truthful imitation of the beauty that exists in nature, where they do not show the cartilages with anatomical distinctness, but are rounded with softness and smoothness, and unmarked by muscular movements; so that the space from the thigh to the leg forms a gentle and flowing elevation, unbroken by depressions or prominences. Whoever has examined the impressions of footsteps on the sand, especially that of the sea-shore, which is firm, will have remarked that the feet of women are more arched in the sole, and those of men more hollowed at the sides.

4. That this imperfect notice of the shape of a youthful knee may not appear superfluous, let the reader turn to the figures of a youthful age, executed by more modern artists. Few of them, I will not say none, but few of them are to be found which show that the natural beauty of this part has been observed and imitated. I am now speaking particularly of figures of the male sex; for, rare as beautiful youthful knees are in nature, they are always still more rare in art, — both in pictures and statues; insomuch that I cannot adduce any figure by Raphael as a model in this particular, and, much less, by the Caracci and their followers. Our painters may derive instruction on this point from the beautiful Apollo of Mengs, in the villa Albani.

5. Like the knee, a beautiful foot was more exposed to sight among the ancients than with us. The less it was compressed, the better was

its form; and from the special remarks upon the feet by the ancient philosophers, and from the inferences which they presumed might be drawn from them as to the natural inclinations, it appears that their shape was the subject of close observation. Hence, in descriptions of beautiful persons, as Polyxena and Aspasia, even their beautiful feet are mentioned, and history (5) notices the ugly feet of Domitian. The nails are flatter on the feet of antique than of modern statues.

6. Having now considered the beauty of the extremities, I shall next touch upon that of the surfaces, namely, the breast and abdomen. A proudly arched chest was regarded as a universal attribute of beauty in male figures. The father of poets (6) describes Neptune (7) with such a chest, and Agamemnon as resembling him; and such a one Anacreon desired to see in the image of the youth whom he loved.

7. The breast or bosom of female figures is never exuberant; and Banier is wrongly informed, when he says, in his description of the figure of Ceres, that she is represented with large breasts; he must have mistaken a modern Ceres for an antique. The form of the breasts in the figures of divinities is virginal in the extreme, since their beauty, generally, was made to consist in the moderateness of their size. A stone, found in the island of Naxos, was smoothly polished, and placed upon them, for the purpose of repressing an undue development. Virginal breasts are likened by the poets to a cluster of unripe grapes. Valerius Flaccus, in the following passage, alludes

to their moderate prominence in Nymphs by the word *obscura*: — *Crinis ad obscuræ decurrens cingula mammæ*, "Hair falling to the zone of the gently swelling breast." On some figures of Venus, less than the size of life, the breasts are compressed, and resemble hills whose summits run to a point; and this form of them appears to have been regarded as the most beautiful. The Ephesian Diana, which I exclude from the figures of the divinities, is the sole exception to these observations. Her breasts are not only large and full, but are also many in number. In this instance, however, their form is symbolical; beauty was not the object sought. Among ideal figures, the Amazons alone have large and fully developed breasts; even the nipples are visible, because they represent, not virgins, but women (8).

8. The nipples are not made visible on the breasts either of virgins or goddesses, at least in marble; in paintings also, in accordance with the form of the breasts in the purity and innocence of life, they should not be prominent. Now, as the nipples are fully visible in the figure of a supposed Venus, of the size of life, in an ancient painting in the palace Barberini, I conclude from this circumstance that it cannot represent a goddess. Some of the greatest modern artists are censurable in this respect. Among them is the celebrated Domenichino, who, in a fresco painted on the ceiling of a room in the Costaguti mansion at Rome, has represented Truth, struggling to escape from Time, with nipples which could not be larger, more prominent, or pointed in a

woman who had suckled many children. No painter has depicted the virginal form of the breasts better than Andrea del Sarto; and among other instances is a half figure, crowned with flowers, and also holding some in her hand: it is in the museum of the sculptor Bartolommeo Cavaceppi.

9. I cannot comprehend how the great artist of the Antinoüs, wrongly so termed, in the Belvedere, happened to make a small incised circle about the right nipple, which consequently appears as if inlaid, and as large as the part inclosed within the circle. It was probably done for the purpose of denoting the extent of the glandular portion of the nipple. This singularity is to be found in no other Greek figure; moreover, no one can possibly consider it a beauty.

10. The abdomen is, in male figures, precisely as it would appear in a man after a sweet sleep, or an easy, healthful digestion, — that is, without prominence, and of that kind which physiologists consider as an indication of a long life. The navel is quite deep, especially in female figures, in which it sometimes has the form of a bow, and sometimes that of a small half-circle, which is turned partly upward and partly downward. There are a few figures in which the execution of this part is more beautiful than on the Venus de' Medici, in whom it is unusually deep and large.

11. Even the private parts have their appropriate beauty. The left testicle is always the larger, as it is in nature; so, likewise, it has been observed that the sight of the left eye is keener than that

of the right. In a few figures of Apollo and Bacchus, the genitals seem to be cut out, so as to leave an excavation in their place, and with a care which removes all idea of wanton mutilation. In the case of Bacchus, the removal of these parts may have a secret meaning, inasmuch as he was occasionally confounded with Atys, and was emasculated like him. Since, on the other hand, in the homage paid to Bacchus, Apollo also was worshipped, the mutilation of the same part in figures of him had precisely the same signification. I leave it to the reader, and to the seeker after beauty, to turn over coins, and study particularly those parts which the painter was unable to represent to the satisfaction of Anacreon, in the picture of his favorite.

12. All the beauties here described, in the figures of the ancients, are embraced in the immortal works of Antonio Raphael Mengs, first painter to the courts of Spain and Poland, the greatest artist of his own, and probably of the coming age also. He arose, as it were, like a phœnix new-born, out of the ashes of the first Raphael, to teach the world what beauty is contained in art, and to reach the highest point of excellence in it to which the genius of man has ever risen. Though Germany might well be proud of the man who enlightened the wise in our fathers' days, and scattered among all nations the seeds of universal science,* she still lacked the glory of pointing to one of her citizens as a restorer of art, and of seeing him

* Leibnitz.

acknowledged and admired, even in Rome, the home of the arts, as the German Raphael.

13. To this inquiry into Beauty I add a few remarks which may be serviceable to young beginners, and to travellers, in their observation of Greek figures. The first is, — Seek not to detect deficiencies and imperfections in works of art, until you have previously learnt to recognize and discover beauties. This admonition is the fruit of experience, of noticing daily that the beautiful has remained unknown to most observers, — who can see the shape, but must learn the higher qualities of it from others, — because they wish to act the critic, before they have begun to be scholars. It is with them as with schoolboys, all of whom have wit enough to find out their instructor's weak point. Vanity will not allow them to pass by, satisfied with a moderate gaze; their self-complacency wants to be flattered; hence, they endeavour to pronounce a judgment. But, as it is easier to assume a negative than an affirmative position, so imperfections are much more easily observed and found than perfections, and it requires less effort and trouble to criticize others than to improve one's self. It is the common practice, on approaching a beautiful statue, to praise its beauty in general terms. This is easy enough. But when the eye has wandered over its parts with an unsteady, rambling look, discovering neither their excellence nor the grounds of it, then it fixes upon faults. Of the Apollo it is observed, that the knee bends inwardly, — though this is a fault rather of the way in

which a fracture was mended, than of the artist; of the presumed Antinoüs of the Belvedere, that the legs bow outwardly; of the Hercules Farnese, that the head, of which mention has been made, is rather small. Herewith, those who wish to be thought more knowing than others relate, that it was found in a well, a mile distant, and the legs ten miles distant, from the body, — a fable which is accredited in more than one work; hence, then, it happens, that the modern restorations alone are the subject of observation. Of the same character are the remarks made by the blind guides of travellers at Rome, and by the writers of travels in Italy. Some few, on the other hand, err through unseasonable caution. They wish, when viewing the works of the ancients, to set aside all opinions previously conceived in their favor. They appear to have determined to admire nothing, because they believe admiration to be an expression of ignorance; and yet Plato says, that admiration is the sentiment of a philosophic mind, and the avenue which leads to philosophy. But they ought to approach the works of Greek art favorably prepossessed, rather than otherwise; for, being fully assured of finding much that is beautiful, they will seek for it, and a portion of it will be made visible to them. Let them renew the search until it is found, for it is there.

14. My second caution is, — Be not governed in your opinion by the judgment of the profession, which generally prefers what is difficult to what is beautiful. This piece of advice is not

less useful than the foregoing, because inferior artists, who value, not the knowledge, but only the workmanship, displayed, commonly decide in this way. This error in judgment has had a very unfavorable effect upon art itself; and hence it is, that, in modern times, the beautiful has been, as it were, banished from it. For by such pedantic, stupid artists — partly because they were incapable of feeling the beautiful, and partly because incapable of representing it — have been introduced the numerous and exaggerated foreshortenings in paintings on plain and vaulted ceilings. This style of painting has become so peculiar to these places, that, if, in a picture executed on either, all the figures do not appear as if viewed from beneath, it is thought to indicate a want of skill in the artist. In conformity to this corrupted taste, the two oval paintings on the ceiling of the gallery in the villa Albani are preferred to the principal and more central piece, — all three by the same great artist,* — as he himself foresaw whilst engaged upon the work; and yet, in the foreshortenings, and the arrangement of the drapery after the manner of the modern and the ecclesiastical style, he was willing to cater to the taste of minds of a coarser grade. An amateur will decide precisely in the same way, if he wish to avoid the imputation of singularity, and escape contradiction. The artist who seeks the approbation of the multitude chooses this style, probably because he believes that there is more skill shown

* Antonio Raphael Mengs.

in drilling a net in stone* than in producing a figure of correct design.

15. In the third place, the observer should discriminate, as the ancient artists apparently did, between what is essential and what is only accessory in the drawing, — partly that he may avoid the expression of an incorrect judgment, in censuring what is not deserving of examination, and partly that his attention may be exclusively directed to the true purpose of the design. The slight regard, paid by the ancient artists to objects which were seemingly not within their province, is shown, for instance, by the painted vases, on which the chair of a seated figure is indicated simply by a bar placed horizontally. But, though the artist did not trouble himself as to the way in which a figure should be represented sitting, still, in the figure itself, he displays all the skill of an accomplished master. In making this remark, I do not wish to excuse what is actually ordinary, or bad, in the works of the ancients. But if, in any one work, the principal figure is admirably beautiful, and the adjunct, or assigned emblem or attribute, is far inferior to it, then I believe we may conclude from this circumstance that the part which is deficient in form and workmanship was regarded as an accessory, or

* Winckelmann, in this passage, undoubtedly refers to a statue enveloped in a net, in the church of Santa Maria della Pietà, at Naples. The subject is Vice undeceived; a man is represented struggling in a net, and striving to escape from it. The work is a very remarkable one for the patient industry which it proves, as the net is almost entirely detached, touching the figure itself only in a few points. It was executed by Guccirolo. — Tr.

Parergon, as it was also termed by artists. For these accessories are not to be viewed in the same light as the episodes of a poem, or the speeches in history, in which the poet and historian have displayed their utmost skill.

16. It is, therefore, requisite to judge mildly, in criticizing the swan at the feet of the above-mentioned beautiful Apollo in the villa Medici, since it resembles a goose more than a swan. I will not, however, from this instance, establish a rule in regard to all accessories, because in so doing I should at the same time contradict the express statements of ancient writers, and the evidence of facts. For the loops of the smallest cords are indicated on the apron of many figures clothed in armour. Indeed, there are feet, on which the stitching between the upper and under soles of the sandal is executed so as to resemble the finest pearls. We know, moreover, in respect to statues which once existed, that the least details about the Jupiter of Phidias were finished with the utmost nicety, also how much industry Protogenes lavished upon the partridge in his picture of Ialysus, — to say nothing of numerous other works.

17. In the fourth place, if they who have had no opportunity of viewing antique works should see, in drawings and engravings of them, parts of the figures manifestly ill-shaped, let them not find fault with the ancient artists; they may be assured that such deformities are to be attributed either to the engraver, or to the sculptor who repaired them. Occasionally, both are in fault.

In making this remark, I have in mind the engravings of the statues in the Giustiniani gallery, all of which were repaired by the most unskilful workmen, and those parts which were really antique copied by artists who had no relish for antiquity. Taught by experience like this, I am governed accordingly in my judgment of the bad legs of a beautiful statue of Bacchus leaning upon a young Satyr, which stands in the library of San Marco, at Venice. Although I have not yet seen it, I am convinced that the faulty portion of it is a modern addition.

18. In this section on the essential of Greek art, — all that relates to the drawing of the human figure being concluded, — I have a few remarks on the representation of animals to add to those which I have already made in the second chapter of this book. It was not less an object with the ancient Greek artists than with the philosophers, to investigate and understand the nature of beasts. Several of the former sought to distinguish themselves by their figures of animals: Calamis, for instance, by his horses; Nicias, (9) by his dogs. The *Cow* of Myron is, indeed, more famed than any of his other works, and has been celebrated in song by many poets, whose inscriptions still remain; a dog, by this same artist, was also famous, as well as a calf by Menæchmus. We find that the ancient artists executed animals after life; and when Pasiteles made a figure of a lion, he had the living animal before his eyes.

19. Figures of lions and horses of uncommon beauty have been preserved; some are detached,

and some in relievo; others are on coins and engraved gems. The sitting lion, of white marble, larger than life, which once stood on the Piræus, at Athens, and is now in front of the gate of the arsenal at Venice, is justly reckoned among the superior works of art. The standing lion in the palace Barberini, likewise larger than life, and which was taken from a tomb, exhibits this king of beasts in all his formidable majesty. How beautiful are the drawing and impression of the lions on coins of the city of Velia! It is asserted, however, even by those who have seen and examined more than one specimen of the living lion, that there is a certain ideal character in the ancient figures of this animal, in which they differ from the living reality.

20. In the representation of horses, the ancient artists are not, perhaps, surpassed by the moderns, as Du Bos maintains, on the assumption that the Greek and Italian horses are not so handsome as the English. It is not to be denied, that a better stock has been produced by crossing the mares of England and Naples with the Spanish stallion, and that the breed of the animal in these countries has been very much improved by this means. This is also true of other countries. In some, however, a contrary result has happened. The German horses, which Cæsar found very bad, are now very good; and those of France, which were prized in his time, are at present the worst in all Europe. The ancients were unacquainted with the beautiful breed of Danish horses; the English, also, were unknown to them. But

they had those of Cappadocia and Epirus, the noblest of all races, the Persian, Achæan, Thessalian, Sicilian, Etruscan, and Celtic or Spanish. Hippias in Plato says, "The finest breeds of horses belong to us." The writer above mentioned also evinces a very superficial judgment, when he seeks to maintain the foregoing assertion by adducing certain defects in the horse of Marcus Aurelius. Now this statue has naturally suffered, having been thrown down and buried in rubbish. As regards the horses on Monte Cavallo, I must plainly contradict him; the portions which are antique are not faulty.

21. But, even if Grecian art had left us no other specimens of horses than those just mentioned, we might presume — since a thousand statues on and with horses were made anciently where one is made in modern days — that the ancient artists knew the points of a fine horse as well as the ancient writers and poets did, and that Calamis had as much discernment of the good qualities and beauties of the animal as Horace and Virgil, who describe them. It seems to me, that the two horses on Monte Cavallo, at Rome, the four of bronze, over the porch of St. Mark's church, at Venice, may be considered beautiful of the kind; and there cannot exist in nature a head more finely shaped, or more spirited, than that of the horse of Marcus Aurelius. The four horses of bronze, attached to the car which stood on the theatre at Herculaneum, were beautiful, but of a light breed, like the Barbary horses. One entire horse has been composed from

the fragments of the four, and is to be seen in the court-yard of the royal museum at Portici. Two other bronze horses, of a small size, also in this museum, may be mentioned among its greatest rarities. The first one, with its rider, was found in Herculaneum, May, 1761; all four of its legs, however, were wanting, as were also the legs and right arm of the rider. It stands on its original base, which is inlaid with silver. The horse is two Neapolitan palms in length (20¾ in. Eng.); he is represented on a gallop, and is supported by a ship's rudder. The eyes, a rosette on the frontal, and a head of Medusa on the breast-band, are of silver. The reins themselves are of copper. The figure on the horse, which resembles Alexander the Great, also has eyes of silver, and its cloak is fastened together, over the right shoulder, by a silver hook. The left hand holds the sheath (10) of a sword; the sword, therefore, must have been in the right hand (11), which is wanting. The conformation resembles that of Alexander in every respect, and a diadem encircles the head. It is one Roman palm and ten inches (16¼ in. Eng.) high, from the pedestal. The second horse was, likewise, mutilated, and without a rider. Both these horses are of the most beautiful shape, and executed in the best manner. Since then, a horse of similar size, together with an equestrian Amazon, has been discovered in Herculaneum. The breast of the horse, which is in the act of springing, rested upon a Hermes. The horses on some Syracusan and other coins are beautifully drawn; and the artist who placed the first three letters,

MIΘ, of his name under a horse's head on a carnelian of the Stosch museum was confident of his own knowledge, and the approbation of connoisseurs.

22. I will take this occasion to repeat a remark which I have made elsewhere, — that the ancient artists were not more agreed as to the action of horses, that is to say, as to the manner and succession in which the legs are lifted, than certain modern writers are, who have touched upon this point. Some maintain that the two legs of the same side are lifted at the same time. This is the gait of the four antique horses at Venice, of the horses of Castor and Pollux, on the Campidoglio, and of those of Nonius Balbus and his son, at Portici. Others are positive that their movement is diagonal, or crosswise, — that is to say, that they lift the left hind-foot after the right fore-foot; and this assertion they ground on observation, and the laws of mechanics. In this way are disposed the feet of the horse of Marcus Aurelius, of the four horses attached to the chariot of this emperor in a relievo, and of those which are on the arch of Titus.

23. Besides these, there are in Rome several other animals, executed by Greek artists in marble and on hard stone. In the villa Negroni is a beautiful tiger (12), in basalt, on which is mounted one of the loveliest children, in marble. A large and beautiful sitting dog (13), of marble, was carried a few years ago to England. It was probably executed by Leucon, who was celebrated for his dogs. The head of the well-known goat (14) in the palace Giustiniani, which is

the most important part of the animal, is modern (15).

24. I am well aware that, in this treatise on the drawing of the nude figure by Greek artists, the subject is not exhausted. But I believe that I have discovered the right end of the clew, which others can seize, and safely follow. No place can compare with Rome in the abundance of its facilities for verifying and applying the observations which I have offered. But it is impossible for any one to form a correct opinion in regard to them, or to obtain all the benefit which they are capable of yielding, in a hasty visit. For the impressions first received may not seem to conform to the author's ideas; yet, by oft-repeated observation, they will approximate more and more nearly to them, and confirm the experience of many years, and the mature reflections, embodied in this treatise.

NOTES.

NOTES.

The notes signed W. are by the author; those signed GERM. ED. are by the German editors; those with an F. are by Fea, the Italian translator; with L., by Lessing.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

1. THE priest of a youthful Jupiter at Ægæ, the priest of the Ismenian Apollo, and he who led the procession in honor of Mercury, at Tanagra, with a lamb on his shoulder, were all young men who had gained the prize of beauty. The city of Egesta, in Sicily, erected to a certain Philip, — who was a citizen, not of that place, but of Crotona, — merely on account of his exceeding beauty, a tomb, as to a deified hero, on which sacrifices were offered to him. — W.

The enthusiasm with which the youth and beauty of the bloom of life were extolled by the Greeks might be shown from many passages of the ancient writers, especially Plato. Instead of all of them, we will quote only a single passage from Xenophon (*Sympos.*, cap. 4, § 11), which he puts into the mouth of Critobulus: — *Ὄμνυμι πάντας θεούς, μὴ ἑλέσθαι ἂν τὴν βασιλέως ἀρχὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ καλὸς εἶναι,* "I swear, by all the gods, that I would not choose the power of the [Persian] king in preference to beauty." — GERM. ED.

2. Called *καλλιστεῖα.* — W.

3. The inhabitants of the Lipari islands erected, at Delphos, as many statues to Apollo as they had taken vessels from the Etruscans. (Pausan., lib. 10, cap. 16.) — W.

4. Pausanias (lib. 6, cap. 8) relates this of Eubotas of Cyrene, to whom the oracle of Jupiter Ammon had predicted victory. — F.

5. Only occasional mention is made of slingers. (Thucyd., lib. 4, cap. 32; Euripides, *Phœnissæ*, v. 2149.) — W.

6. Gedoyn, in this opinion, thinks he has distinguished himself above the common crowd of writers. (*Histoire de Phidias*, *Acad. des Inscrip.*, Tom. IX., *Mém.*, p. 199.) A superficial English writer (Nixon, *Essay on Sleeping Cupids*), notwithstanding he had visited Rome, follows him in it. — W.

7. Namely, the Lesche, "a place in Sparta, as in most Greek cities, appropriated to social meetings for the purpose of conversation." (Pausan., lib. 10, cap. 25.) — The painting at Delphos represented the taking of Troy, as I find in an ancient manuscript scholium upon the Gorgias of Plato, which has preserved the inscription on it, as follows: —

Γράψε Πολύγνωτος, Θάσιος γένος, Ἀγλαοφῶντος
Υἱός, περθομένην Ἰλίου ἀκρόπολιν.

"Polygnotus, a Thasian by birth, son of Aglaophon, painted the destruction of the citadel of Troy." — W.

8. Winckelmann can have read the words of Juvenal, *lances Parthenio factas*, only in the catalogue of Junius. For, if he had looked into Juvenal, he would not have allowed himself to be misled by the ambiguity of the word *lanx;* but would have immediately perceived, from the connection, that the poet did not mean the basins or scales of a balance, but plates and bowls. Juvenal commends Catullus, because, in a dangerous storm at sea, he had imitated the beaver, by throwing into the sea his most valuable articles, that he and the ship might not sink together. He says that, among these silver dishes for the table, there were also plates with embossed work, executed by Parthenius. Parthenius, says the ancient scholiast, *cœlatoris nomen*, is the name of a carver in relief. — L.

9. Polybius, lib. 4. Lessing censures Winckelmann, as if there were nothing in this passage to confirm his assertions. But the censure is unjust; for the testimony of the historian verifies

Winckelmann's quotation. — Thespiæ, Olympia, Cos, and Cnidos, also, together with many other cities and islands, were especially famed for their statues. — GERM. ED.

10. He was called "the Shadow-painter," σκιαγράφος (Hesychius, σκιογράφος). The reason of the appellation is therefore obvious. Hesychius, who has taken σκιογράφος for σκηνογράφος, that is, "the Tent-painter," is to be emended. (Hesych., *ex edit. Alberti*, Tom. II. p. 1209.) — W.

It should be remarked that the term σκηνογράφος, here rendered "Tent-painter," (Germ. *Zelt-Maler*,) signifies more properly "Scene-painter." By the epithet "Shadow-painter," σκιογράφος, applied to Apollodorus, is to be understood a painter in chiaroscuro, or light and shade. — TR.

11. Μηδὲν ἐν προσευχαῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ [Καίσαρος], μὴ ἄγαλμα, μὴ ξόανον, μὴ γραφὴν ἱδρυσάμενοι, "Placing nothing in honor of him [the emperor] in the oratories, — neither polished statue, nor rude image, nor picture." (Philo, *de Virt. et Legat. ad Caium.*) — GERM. ED.

12. An entertainment to the gods, in which their images were laid upon couches, and meats served to them in public. — TR.

CHAPTER II.

1. WHEN many statues were collected together, they were distinguished by numbers, probably in reference to the place which they occupied in the row. This at least may be inferred from the Greek letter *H*, engraved on the socle of the statue of a Faun, in the palace Altieri. It was, therefore, the seventh in the range. As the same letter was cut on a bust of which a Greek inscription makes mention, it is to be inferred that this bust was the seventh of those formerly set up in the temple of Serapis. For the same reason, the letter *N*, engraved on the shaft that serves as a support to the Amazon of Sosicles, in the

Capitoline museum, denotes that it was the thirteenth in some former collection. — F.

2. To many of our readers the remarks of Winckelmann upon Michael Angelo and Bernini may seem harsh, perhaps unjust. He was not, in fact, particularly partial to either, as it appears from other passages; we must, however, take into consideration the stand from which he contemplated the style of these masters. He does not judge these celebrated artists, in the least degree, according to the standard of modern art, — much less does he wish to decide what rank they are to take in the list of modern artists, — but he compares what they have done with the highest idea of beautiful form derived from the masterpieces of antiquity; and in this respect, he is right beyond dispute. Wholly in the same sense, and with precisely such a special reference to beauty of form, is also to be understood a well-known *bon-mot* of Nicholas Poussin, who is said to have remarked of Raphael, — "Compared with the moderns, he is an angel; but with the ancients, an ass." — GERM. ED.

3. There were, at one time, two well-executed heads, of basalt, in the villa Albani. The more beautiful one, of which Winckelmann speaks, was formerly named Cleopatra, and afterwards Berenice. It possesses noble and very regular features, and is, in every respect, an exquisite work of art. The nose is a modern restoration. — The second head is not equal to the first, either in beauty of features or in skilful execution. At first, it was called Berenice, but afterwards Lucilla. The nose and chin are repaired. — GERM. ED.

4. Let no one be induced by the passage in the text to think of portrait-likeness, — of which Winckelmann certainly did not intend to speak (see section 33 of this chapter), — since he would, in such case, entirely mistake the genius of ancient art. When the ancient authors, in speaking of Phryne, Laïs, and other celebrated women whose favors were venal, mention that great artists modelled their masterpieces after them, they did not, by any means, intend to be understood that portraits of them were actually made, that is to say, that the individual parts of their shape and features were copied, but — even though the

passages should express ever so clearly another meaning — that these beautiful persons supplied the great artists, in the conception of their ideal conformations, as of Venus, for example, with an outward occasion, and probably, in the execution of their figures, served them as models. If the absolute ideal invented by each artist, and standing in a perfect state before his mental vision, had not always predominated over every thing external, then would the works of art neither have deserved, nor attained, the high celebrity which has fallen to their lot. Even though Phryne may have been faultlessly beautiful, and have shown herself ever so complaisant to Praxiteles, still the Venus of Cnidos was no portrait of her, because a likeness requires an imitation of the features of the individual, whereas ideal images exclude it. If, from the analogy of all ancient works of art still extant, we may, as we must, believe that the celebrated Venus of Cnidos, by Praxiteles, is an ideal image of the goddess, a general type of the highest feminine grace and beauty of form, we shall also be able to maintain, on indisputable grounds, that this image may, in some respect, have resembled every very beautiful woman; the most beautiful woman, indeed, who has ever lived, or will live, may have the greatest resemblance to that image; and, in so far as Phryne may have been extraordinarily beautiful, the ancients might believe, and say with truth, that the masterpiece of Praxiteles resembled her. But the intelligent, and connoisseurs, at least, did not understand by this expression a common portrait-likeness, as we clearly perceive from the circumstance, that Arellius, who lived shortly before Augustus (Plin., lib. 35, cap. 10, § 37), incurred the reproach of scandalous and blasphemous conduct, because the goddesses painted by him always resembled the courtesans in whom he happened, at the time, to be interested. — GERM. ED.

5. Translators render the word σύνοφρυς by *junctis superciliis*, "joined eyebrows," as the connection in the text requires; but it might be translated "proud," according to the explanation of Hesychius. It is said, however (La Roque, *Mœurs et Cout. des Arabes*, p. 217), that the Arabians think eyebrows which meet beautiful. — W.

6. Not merely two, but four, such recumbent Hermaphrodites are in existence, or at least known. One, at Paris, which has been for a long time in France; a second, in the Florentine gallery, is the one mentioned by the author; a third, and the most celebrated, is that in the villa Borghese, near Rome, likewise noticed by the author; a fourth, and, as it seems to us, the best in execution, is in the palace Borghese, in Rome. Whether, as Visconti supposes, the celebrated Hermaphrodite of Polycletus, in bronze, mentioned by Pliny (lib. 34, cap. 8, § 19), may have been the original from which the four figures just named were copied in ancient times, we do not pretend to decide. It is possible, but still not capable of proof. On the contrary, we do not venture even to assert that either of the marbles in question may be an original work, although the two Borghese figures possess indisputably very many admirable qualities. If we consider them in respect of invention, and the predominating idea, there is scarcely one among all the antiques which could be named as possessing more excellences. The equivocal, undecided nature of the forms, wavering between male and female, between boy and maiden, is rendered with wonderful delicacy, and weighed, as it were, in the nicest balance.

It was the intention of the artist to represent this Hermaphrodite as sleeping, it is true, yet sleeping unquietly, and excited by voluptuous dreams. He is turned almost entirely over, and the undulating line of the body, occasioned by its position, lends to him an extraordinary charm, and denotes a style in art that had not only advanced to the extreme of refinement in search of the pleasing, but had, indeed, already strayed beyond it into the realms of voluptuousness. In so far as we may presume to draw an inference from these characteristics, as to the age when the work in question was executed, it could not well be earlier than after the time of Alexander the Great, when Greek rule, manners, and art prevailed in Asia.

Among the four repetitions, still extant, of this recumbent Hermaphrodite, the one first mentioned, which is said to have been retouched by a modern artist, has the least value as a work of art. It was disinterred at Velletri, and has been known a longer time than the others.

The forms of the Florentine Hermaphrodite are elegant, the contour soft and flowing, the flesh tender. Some few slight inaccuracies, however, are visible; and the handling, especially of the hair, also allows room for conjecture that it is a copy, executed in the time of the Roman emperors. He lies on the spread skin of a lion or tiger, the end of which is also wrapped about the left arm. This latter particular distinguishes the Florentine in some degree from the three other repetitions. — The nose is new; probably, also, both legs, the whole of the right thigh and half of the left, the socle, and the skin spread underneath. Accurate observers will probably find that the characteristics of the male sex are, in this figure, somewhat more modest, short, and quiet, than in the two Borghese statues; this is not, however, an original ancient variation, but merely an effect of the delicate scrupulousness of the artist by whom the restorations were made.

The celebrated figure in the villa Borghese deserves to be ranked before the Florentine, partly on account of its better preservation, and partly because the forms are, generally, even more flowing and elegant. Notwithstanding these admirable qualities in the execution, still there is observable about the mouth, eyes, and in other important points, a certain want of spirit, of living expression, which cannot be lacking in any truly original work, or at least not in one so perfect in conception as this. Although the Florentine Hermaphrodite is wrought from Greek marble, and this from Italian, still we should be inclined to regard the latter as the more ancient, judging from the indications of the handling. — The tip of the nose, four fingers of the left hand, the left foot as high as the small of the leg, a trifling portion of the drapery, and the mattress, — which passes for a masterpiece of its kind, — are new, and from the hand of the celebrated Lorenzo Bernini.

The fourth Hermaphrodite, in the gallery of the palace Borghese at Rome, appeared to us, after repeated examination, always more tender and fleshlike in execution, and the forms more lovely, and to melt more softly into one another, than is the case with the figure at the villa.

Besides these monuments, in which the idea of the Hermaphrodite is conceived in the finest poetical sense, and realized in a style of art that cannot be surpassed, there are several others, differing in position and action, yet representing the same subject. Of these, Winckelmann mentions a small upright figure in the villa Albani. We will notice only one other, exceedingly beautiful in its execution, which is kept locked up in a closet, in the villa Borghese, because the posture is somewhat bold. It is nearly of the size of life, stands bent a little backwards, and is covered with female drapery, the front part of which is lifted up by both hands. Nothing can be seen lovelier, smoother, rounder, and especially softer, than these features, these limbs. The face, it is true, has not a high character, — this would not be consistent with the rest, — but it is very pleasing, round, and lovely, full of passion and delight. The skill of the artist has enabled him to introduce about the cheeks and mouth a something which is not exactly vulgar, but yet has a touch of common humanity, — a trace of sensuality, — and even by this very means to enhance the fascination of his work. — The end of the nose, the greater portion of the head and hair, the right leg, the left foot, and the characteristics of the male sex, are modern.

This figure was originally intended for a niche, since the reverse side is very carelessly handled, or rather is only sketched. It is said to have been found not far from Mount Portio, on the place where one of the villas of Lucius Verus was probably situated; we do not intend, however, to intimate, by this remark, that we believe it to have been executed during the reign of this emperor. On the contrary, it has all the characteristics of a purely Grecian work of the later, effeminate style, and, moreover, the marble is Greek. — GERM. ED.

7. In the heads of Jupiter, the eyes are large and well opened, but not round; so that, in this respect, they resemble less closely the conformation of the lion than one might probably suppose from Winckelmann's words. (See Plates 1 and 2, two of the finest heads of Jupiter, in which the eyes, forehead, and frontal hair are represented.) — GERM. ED.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

1. It would be a fault in female figures with bared breasts, if the nipples, as an essential part of them, were not visible, that is to say, were not indicated at all. They are, however, always signified, and even made visible through the dress, in all antique figures, even those representing virgins. Yet, as in beautiful women, so also in beautiful youthful statues, they are neither large nor prominent, but, as it were, still immature for fulfilling the offices of maternity. — Germ. Ed.

2. It is now in the Pio-Clement museum. Visconti believes either that the child in the arms of the goddess represents Mars, or that the monument, taken as a whole, is a symbol of Juno Lucina. — F.

3. Ancient art has transmitted to us Fauns of different characters, or, in other words, it has thought proper to present the ideal of them in different modes, and under forms more or less noble. The remark of Winckelmann is well grounded, that several statues and heads of young Fauns are of uncommon beauty, and apparently conceived and represented as though of divine origin, and relatives of Bacchus; for example, the many similar young Fauns, noticed by him, standing at rest against the trunk of a tree, which pass for copies of the (so called) περιβόητος, "The Celebrated," of Praxiteles.

The beautiful young Faun, also, which, together with three antique repetitions of it, stands in the museum at Dresden, is equally pleasing, yet still more noble and divine, in its conception. (A profile of the head alone may be seen in Plate 3, fig. A.) A fifth figure, resembling the Dresden statues, is in the villa Ludovisi, at Rome. The head in particular is extremely lovely, and well preserved. The young Faun blowing a flute — of which there are, likewise, numerous copies — is charmingly graceful, although the shape generally is somewhat less noble. There are two such figures in the

Capitoline museum, and several in the villa Borghese, one of which is of surpassing excellence. Unsatisfactory engravings of this most beautiful figure may be found in Perrier (*Statue*, No. 48), and in the *Sculture del Palazzo della Villa Borghese.* In the latter of these works the conjecture is offered, whether the celebrated Faun, painted by Protogenes, and bearing the epithet ἀναπαυόμενος, "The Reposing," might not have been the original of this monument in marble. Indeed, the many repetitions of it, and the skill and wisdom which prevail in the disposition of its parts, as well as the elegance and tenderness of the forms, place it beyond all doubt that it must have had for its original a work highly celebrated in antiquity. But we should not conjecture that original to have been a painting, unless the probability of this were based upon very peculiar circumstances.

The celebrated Silenus carrying the young Bacchus in his arms, in the villa Borghese, is also to be enumerated among the estimable, noble figures of the Bacchus family. — Note 9 will give further information in regard to this beautiful monument.

The Fauns which Winckelmann appears to designate properly by the epithet *Simi*, that is, flat-nosed, are conceived after a different and lower ideal. They have a broader and flatter face, eyes not deeply set, and, for the most part, a somewhat sunken nose with a thick tip; the mouth is proportionately wide, and the face usually distorted with laughter. Warts, like those which goats have, are often put under the jaw, near the neck. In other respects, their conformation is always vigorous and agile, though occasionally slender; and pervaded by strongly marked muscles and sinews, as required by their occupation of roaming through woods and fields. The first place among figures of this kind and character properly belongs to the celebrated sleeping Faun of the Barberini collection. The sleep in which he lies sunk after fatigue, and the relaxation of all the muscles of the limbs, are expressed in a manner which cannot be improved; it is, indeed, inimitable. We can almost hear the deep respiration, see how the wine swells the veins, how the excited pulses beat.

The second place belongs to the Faun playing the Scabellum,* in the Tribune at Florence. Not only do the faultless harmony throughout, and the highly naïve simplicity in the gesture, and in the keeping of all the parts, challenge our admiration, satisfy the requirements of the understanding, and perfectly accomplish the object in view, but this figure, like the Barberini sleeping Faun, just mentioned, delights also the feelings themselves, as a bright, glorious image of nature unrestrained. It is, moreover, one of the most learned figures, or, to speak more correctly, one of those in which we see a masterly display of anatomical skill, profound knowledge of the action of the muscles, and of the manner in which the will affects them previously to the moment of action. The foot, which is about to press the Scabellum, with the sole attached, is raised; the tendons which move the toes are in a state of the most forcible contraction; but he is impatient to hear the sound; hence the calf of the leg already begins to swell, and the great back cord of the leg is becoming tense for a downward blow. — The head is modern, yet very good, full of expression, and in harmony with the whole; also both arms, a considerable piece of the left heel, and all the toes of the right foot. These restorations are all from the hand of one artist, said to be Michael Angelo.

An excellent figure, almost as large as life, in the Capitoline museum, also belongs from its character to this same lower class of the Faun-ideal. It is carrying fruits in a skin by which it is girt. (A profile-likeness of the head may be seen in Plate 3, fig. B.) The naïve expression of joyousness, which gives life, as it were, to this admirable work of art, delights the spectator. It is, besides, one of the best-preserved figures; for even the right hand, which is raised and holding forth an apple, is antique, with the exception of the fingers. On the head, only the tip of the nose is somewhat injured. A couple of toes on each foot, and other trifling parts, are modern restorations.

In this second class, or inferior Faun-ideal, are to be included

* A kind of musical instrument which was played by the pressure of the foot; it always gave the same tone. — Tr.

the bald, flat-nosed Sileni, with large, and occasionally hairy, belly and thighs, and also somewhat short proportions. Good standing figures of this kind are to be found in the Pio-Clement museum, at the entrance of the palace Lanti, in the gallery Giustiniani, and in the museum at Dresden.*

The sinking Silenus, supported by a Faun, on the great Borghese vase, and another, which might be named "The Reeling," upheld by two Fauns, on the beautiful bas-relief in the Pio-Clement museum, belong here, although they seem to be more noble in form, and to constitute a class intermediate between those just mentioned and the beautiful Borghese Silenus holding the young Bacchus in his arms, to which reference has already been made.

Finally, there remains to be considered still a third class, and this the lowest, of such ideal conformations, — namely, the long-horned and goat-footed, to which, in the language of art of the present day, the name of Satyr is usually and exclusively applied, although, anciently, the Greeks comprehended under this term all the kinds above named, without exception.

If we see the Fauns, so called, of the second class almost always represented in a state of mind excited by wine even to waggishness, excessive gayety, jumping, and dancing, so the ancient artists made use of the Goat-footed as the true Merry-Andrew. For this reason, we find on engraved gems, as well as in a Herculaneum painting, one of these mongrels engaged in a butting contest with a real male goat. In the villa Borghese there is another, who is sitting down, and occupied with comic gravity in extracting a thorn from the foot of a robust Faun, who behaves himself in a manner quite unseemly. In the *Pio-Clement Museum* (Vol. I., Plate 50) may be found a group of a still lower character, though superior in execution, in which a Satyr, with lustful impatience, is striving to strip the dress from a struggling Nymph. When ancient art deviates still farther, into the representation of dubious or shameless subjects, it does, indeed, occasionally make use of the lower kind of Fauns, but more frequently of the Goat-figures. — GERM. ED.

* An engraving from a statue in the Pio-Clement museum may be seen in Plate 5. — TR.

4. This Satyr or Faun of Praxiteles was termed ὁ περιβόητος, The Praised. According to Pausanias (lib. 1, cap. 20) and Athenæus (*Deipnosoph.*, lib. 13, cap. 6), it was of bronze, and was standing even in their time, that is, about A. D. 174, in the Tripod street, at Athens. Among the figures which pass for probable copies of this masterpiece, so celebrated in antiquity, the one which was carried from the Capitoline museum to Paris is, in respect to execution, the most valued. But, however beautiful it may be, still there are observable about it, as in most ancient copies, certain indications of haste and negligent handling. The drill has been much used, and, on more careful examination, errors are discoverable; for example, the retracted right foot is much shorter than it ought to be. — The nose, the back part of the head, and both fore-arms and hands are modern. — GERM. ED.

5. Winckelmann has given a wrong interpretation to the passage in Pausanias (lib. 2, cap. 13) from which he probably derived this statement. Pratinas and Aristias were not artists in marble and bronze, as Heyne first remarked, but two dramatic poets, who, like Æschylus, wrote satirical dramas also, σάτυροι, the chorus of which was composed of Satyrs. — GERM. ED.

6. *Laciniæ a cervice binæ dependentes* (Plin., lib. 8, cap. 50, sect. 76), "Two flaps pendent from the neck." They are visible on a beautiful young Faun sleeping on a rock, among the Herculaneum bronzes (*Antich. d' Ercolano*, Vol. VI., Plate 40), and in another plate (No. 42), which represents an elder Faun, or a Silenus, stretched out upon a skin. These pendants are still more clearly visible on the beautiful Faun of red marble, in the *Pio-Clement Museum* (Vol. I., Plate 47). — F.

7. It was found near the celebrated tomb of Cæcilia Metella, and belonged to the Institute at Bologna, where it was seen by Breval and Keissler, who make mention of it. — W.

The bust, not the head alone, of the Faun mentioned here, which belongs to the second class designated in Note 3, could hardly be equalled in regard to the industry bestowed upon the execution of it. All the parts are finished with the greatest ac-

curacy; but, as the whole has been very smoothly polished, the reflected light from the surface produces a certain appearance of hardness, which is not favorable to this really admirable monument. It is, besides, in perfect preservation; only the right side of the face is a little stained with something green, probably from lying, whilst in the ground, in contact with bronze. For this reason the French term it *le Faune à la tache.* — GERM. ED.

8. Watelet, *Reflex. sur la Peinture*, p. 69. — GERM. ED.

9. The Borghese Silenus is, beyond question, the noblest of all the images of the instructor of Bacchus which have come down to us. It is one of those glorious, purely human representations which perfectly content the eye, the understanding, and the feelings. The invention, arrangement, purity of the outlines, and consummate elegance of the forms, equally demand praise and excite astonishment. From the workmanship generally, and from the hair in particular, we may infer that this work belongs to the most flourishing period of art. It may also be reckoned among those which have been admirably well preserved. — According to our observation, the left hand, and the fingers of the right hand, of Silenus, and several parts of the figure of the child, are modern. — It was found amid the ruins of the gardens of Sallust, at the same time with the large Borghese vase. — GERM. ED.

10. In regard to the statue from which this engraving is copied, Visconti (*Chiaramonti Mus.*, Vol. II., p. 29) remarks as follows: — "The ancient monuments still remaining which relate to Dionysus or Bacchus, and his numerous followers, usually divided into the various families of Satyrs, Fauns, Sileni, Pans, Mænades, &c., are so frequent, that they are to be found everywhere in museums, and as the ornaments of dwelling-houses, of gardens, and of villas. But images which represent the primitive Silenus, the instructor of Bacchus, are rare. Although the poets and writers of satires travesty him as old, very fat, and pot-bellied, resembling a wine-skin, deformed, as Lucian caricatures him, and as he is often represented on bas-reliefs, in the Bacchic scenes upon sarcophagi so common in museums, still the original character of Silenus is much more noble, since he is understood to have bred and educated Bacchus or Dionysus,

in whom is personified the uncivilized state of the world, and its passage from a rude to a more cultivated condition. He was the head, the leader, of that troop of old Satyrs who were called Sileni after him, and who accompanied Bacchus in his Indian campaign, which was undertaken for the purpose of civilizing the barbarians. The Orphic Hymns invoke him under the name of the bravest and best of the Sileni; the titles which they give him denote veneration; they pronounce him to be honored alike by gods and men. In the more ancient Theogony, Silenus was regarded as the depositary of science, which, in his capacity of instructor, he communicated to Bacchus, who made use of it to civilize mankind, still in a rude and savage state.

"This figure, which falsifies all the erroneous notions entertained of Silenus, shows him in his original character, as the foster-father and instructor of Bacchus. Now this latter, taken in a moral sense, is nothing more than a symbol of the refinement of the world from a state of barbarism, and the former is a symbol of the knowledge which had nurtured, guided, and assisted him.

"Like his foster-child, he is naked; his aspect is noble and affectionate, as suitable to the educator of a god, whom he holds in his arms and presses to his bosom. The child is caressing him in turn, and gracefully extends his hands to the other's cheeks. His head is bald; the goat-ears, — denoting an origin in common with the Satyrs and Panisci, and partaking of the bestial and the human, — and the panther's skin, upon the left arm, are attributes which show that Silenus possesses two natures, a mortal and a divine, a material and an intellectual. His nose is flat, his face broad, and the expression composed of hilarity, benevolence, and sagacity. The wreath of ivy-leaves and ivy-berries around the head of each tells of the perpetual youth of Bacchus, and the strength and sweetness of the bonds with which barbarism binds the minds of men." — Tr.

11. Of this statue (*Pio-Clem. Mus.*, Vol. I., Plate 46) Visconti remarks as follows: — "A distinction is commonly received among antiquarians which assists them greatly in classifying the

so much varied images of the rustic deities who are the followers and companions of Bacchus. Having observed them sometimes with the lower limbs goat-like, at other times only with capriform ears, and again with tail and horns, now in advanced life, and now in youth, they gave the name of Satyrs to those which, in the expression of the countenance, in the hair, and the goat-like haunches and legs, resembled the antique representations of the god Pan. The term Faun they applied to those which are seen with ears and tail alone, and sometimes with the rudiments of horns, but of which the legs and thighs are wholly human; if, however, they were not of youthful or manly age, but in advanced or mature life, then they were no longer termed Fauns, but Sileni. Some, with greater exactness, have wished, indeed, to distinguish by different names the different kinds of Fauns, — confining this appellation to those which, with a human form, have the ears, horns, and tail of a goat, and calling by the name of Tityri those rare figures of Bacchanals which have nothing of the goat shape.

"The exactness of such authors certainly deserves some praise, since it attempts to make different ideas correspond to different names, — which does much to promote clearness; but they seem to go too far, in seeking to derive such a division — which can have no other object than the convenience of artists and antiquarian nomenclature — from the ideas of the ancients, and in censuring, for want of precision, those classic writers who have not observed it. In refutation of such an opinion, it is sufficient to reflect, that images are found, of Greek workmanship and of remote antiquity, of all the diversified kinds of Bacchanals, although we are certain that the Greeks never knew Fauns except by the name of Satyrs or Sileni, which was applied indifferently to all the followers of Bacchus. Still, however, even the Greeks sometimes distinguished the individual characters of various deities of a similar kind, and perhaps they knew no distinction more usual than that of Pan and Silenus. The former was commonly figured in semi-capriform resemblance; to the latter were given a bald forehead, a flat nose, a long beard, a hairy breast, and a short and corpulent person. In Pan they

recognized one of the most ancient divinities of Arcadia and of shepherds; in Silenus, the instructor, the companion, the general of Bacchus. All classic writers agree in the characteristics noticed above, and no description is more lively than that given of the two by Lucian, who refers to them, at the head of the conquering army of India, in these words: — 'Under the god, there were two generals; one of them was a short, very fat, pot-bellied, tremulous old man, with flat nose, and large, upright ears; the other, a monster-man, from the middle downwards resembling a goat, with hairy legs, horns, long beard, choleric,' &c. By these two portraits of Pan and Silenus, we can recognize them in the monuments; but in the sculptured images of the latter we find the very same variety which we perceive in the authors who speak of him. Whilst some of them present him to us as a drinking, ridiculous old man, others describe him as a wise man, so far removed from hypocrisy, that he allows himself to be confounded with the class of voluptuaries, — who knows, however, the causes and ends of things, and whose breast is filled with a pure philosophy. This is the idea in regard to Silenus given in the sixth Eclogue of Virgil; and such must have been the idea of the Greek artist of the beautiful statue of the Pincian villa, in which this demigod is represented holding the infant Bacchus in his arms, and with features and limbs so noble in form, as to denote him to be a wise person, one to whom the education of a god might be intrusted. The sculptor of the marble before us has taken another view of Silenus, and represented him as the allegorical personage of intoxication. In the features of the face, and the shape of the limbs, he has adhered to the comic description by Lucian, with the exception of the ears, which in the image are not capriform. Though what the figure holds in its hand is a modern restoration, still there is no doubt as to the action of squeezing a bunch of grapes into a cup. — The perfection with which the skilful artist has expressed his conceit cannot be sufficiently comprehended by one who has not the marble itself before him. The head, which is crowned with the leaves and berries of the ivy, is of an admirable character, and the nat-

uralness and fleshiness of the fat, hairy trunk is the utmost to which sculpture can attain." — TR.

12. As Winckelmann does not particularly designate the head of Pan in the Capitoline museum, of which he makes mention here, it is doubtful whether he means a Hermes in the miscellaneous room, which formerly bore the name of Jupiter Ammon, or the Satyr-Mask, that is, merely the face without any back part, which probably still stands in the Capitoline museum, in the room of the great Vase. The latter is uncommonly beautiful, and executed with exquisite expression of character; it is, however, very much injured. The head of the (so called) Jupiter Ammon in the miscellaneous room is, indeed, also good, yet the execution of it is far from being so admirable. It has a noble character, approximating even to the majestic; together with the horns of a ram, and pointed ears. Winckelmann was probably induced to regard this monument as an image of Pan particularly by the hair, because it is curled over the forehead quite differently from that on the heads of Jupiter. — The nose is a restoration.

A statue of Pan of the size of life, in a sitting posture, and of pretty good workmanship, may be found in the villa Borghese. But the most admirable head of Pan is in the mansion Rondinini; it may even dispute superiority with the Capitoline Mask, just mentioned. — The nose and mouth, and also some locks of the beard and hair, are new.

Furthermore, there is a Pan's head, but little observed, in the garden of the villa Medici; it stands on a Hermes, in front of the pavilion in which formerly stood the Cleopatra, or properly Ariadne, now in Florence. The ideal character, that is, the mixture of human with goatish features, is clearly and admirably expressed. — GERM. ED.

13. The knee, and also the legs towards the ankle, of the Apollino, so called, formerly in the villa Medici, but now in the Tribune at Florence, are usually considered less beautiful than the rest of the figure. There may, perhaps, be some truth in the criticism, if it be viewed in detail, and not according to its general signification and effect as a whole. For our own part,

however, we think very favorably of it, and, after repeated attentive examination, have never been able to detect those strikingly neglected portions by which the harmony of the whole is disturbed. Even if the legs near the ankle-joint do appear too much developed and too little youthful, it proceeds from the circumstance, that the figure was broken precisely in this place, and probably has been retouched, as the uneven outline leads one to infer.

In judging of this work, we must reflect that it is in the highest degree probable that it was executed in the time of Alexander's successors, and therefore in the later periods of Greek art, when artists began to aim at a general pleasing effect, rather than to produce the exact shape and perfect finish of each particular part. Hence, the idea of the head of this figure is certainly very beautiful, indeed lofty, in general; but still we are not always willing in this case, as we are, for example, in that of the Niobe and her two loveliest daughters, to follow closely the drawing of the forms into its details. It was neither the artist's intention to render every particular accurately, nor did so severe and punctilious treatment comport with the flowing softness of this later style. If such points are taken into consideration, each fresh view of the Apollino will reveal new beauties to every person competent to judge of art. The flow and soft undulation of the outlines is wonderful; the principal or middle line of the figure cannot possibly have more sweep, more that is elegant, noble, and fascinating. The leaning attitude, the position of one hand upon the head, as well as the supporting of the other, denote repose; but the spirit of the godlike youth is in action; lofty feelings are swelling his tender breast, and animating his beautiful countenance; he seems to be listening to the song of the Muses. — The hands, nose, and that part of the hair which is gathered in a net on the crown of the head, are modern. — The execution is masterly, although extremely delicate; on the feet we see the indications of a boldly handled chisel. Originally this figure was polished smoothly, and it still retains some lustre. — GERM. ED.

14. The idea of this Genius, especially of the head, really

seems to have come from heaven. Nevertheless, even this head, although the most successful portion of the figure, shows very evident marks of being an antique copy. With all the beauty and pure proportion of the parts, still we discover, in the arrangement of the hair, a few sections of it which are quite stiff; and the use of the drill is visible about the mouth. Yet the gracefulness of the turn, the elegant sweep of the middle line, the nobleness and dignity of the whole shape, and the soft and flowing character of the forms, point to an original produced in the most flourishing period of Greek art. That this figure, however, is not itself an original, but a copy, is evident partly from the remarks already made in regard to the head, and partly from the fact that the other members also evince no really accurate knowledge flowing from the artist's own mind, but — if we may permit ourselves a harsh expression — they are executed with a superficial mechanical skill wholly inadequate to the lofty subject for which it was required.

A slight sketch of this monument is to be found in the second volume of the *Sculture del Palazzo della Villa Borghese*, Stanza IX., No. 11. In the explanation, (p. 94 of the same volume,) it is, moreover, asserted that the appellation of Genius is probably not correct, and that the work might very well be an imitation of the celebrated Thespian Cupid of Praxiteles, which, there is good reason to suppose, carried neither bow nor arrow.

It is our belief that there are modern additions to this figure, — namely, the left leg as far as the foot, both fore-arms, the tip of the nose, the larger portion of the wings, and also the upper part of the drapery, which is thrown over the trunk of a tree, against which the figure leans. The lower antique fragment of this drapery falls in very admirable folds. — GERM. ED.

15. This is the figure of which Flaminio Vacca (Montfauc., *Diario Ital.*, p. 193) speaks; he believes it to be an Apollo, but with wings. Montfaucon has had it engraved from a frightful drawing. (Montfauc., *Antiq. Expl.*, Tom. I., Plate 115, No. 6.) — W.

16. The Apollo in the rooms of the Conservatori is a beau-

tifully executed half-figure without arms, which appears to represent the god in boyhood, and not larger than life. The hair is confined very elegantly on the crown of the head, and the eyeballs are denoted by a cavity. — GERM. ED.

17. Winckelmann's Works, Vol. III., p. 195, § 14. — GERM. ED.

18. This Group has been carried to Naples. — GERM. ED.

19. The Mercury with a well-preserved antique purse in the hand was set up in the palace of the villa Borghese after Winckelmann's time. It is a large, well-executed statue, and in a remarkable state of preservation; it does not, however, belong to the best class of images representing Mercury. To say nothing of the (so called) Belvedere Antinoüs, which Visconti has shown to be probably a Mercury, it is excelled by the seated Mercury, in bronze, from Herculaneum, and also by an erect statue, in marble, of the size of life, in the Florentine gallery. In the latter, the right leg is crossed over the left, one hand is placed on the side, and the other rests on the trunk of a tree. Although it has been broken into many fragments, still only the hands and fore-arms, and a piece of the right foot, appear to be modern. The features are pleasing and delicate, and the outlines of the whole figure very flowing.

The beautiful little statue in the *Pio-Clement Museum* (Vol. I., Plate 5) also merits mention in this place. It represents Mercury as a child, with the finger placed upon the mouth cunningly, as though he had just committed some little bit of roguery, and was begging the spectator to keep silence. There are several antique copies of this charming monument, one of which is in the villa Borghese, and still another is mentioned by Winckelmann in the second volume (p. 312) of the present edition.

But a head of Mercury, covered with the Petasus, or little hat, far excels in point of artistic merit all the monuments just enumerated. It is said to be no longer in Rome, but to have been sent to England. Casts and numerous copies have made it known in almost all cultivated countries. (See an outline in Plate 6.) — GERM. ED.

20. The celebrated seated statue of Mars in the villa Ludovisi is executed in a soft and pleasing manner in Greek marble. The position announces careless repose; the forms of the limbs are beautiful, yet their beauty does not in the least detract from the expression of heroic strength. The head has a glorious, noble, appropriate character. On the left shoulder marks are visible, as if something had been broken off, — an appearance which suggests the inference, that originally another figure stood close to it. — The nose, and the right hand and foot, are modern restorations. Of the Cupid which sits at the feet of the god, the head, and also the arms and right foot, are new. — GERM. ED.

21. The candelabra here mentioned passed afterwards from the Barberini palace into the Pio-Clement museum. Drawings of them have frequently been made, but the best and most correct is to be found in the *Pio-Clement Museum*, Vol. IV., Plates 1 – 8. — GERM. ED.

22. Several modern antiquarians believe that they have discovered an image of the bearded Mars in the admirably executed colossal figure in the Capitoline museum, known under the name of Pyrrhus. Winckelmann, in the tenth book, eleventh chapter, conjectures that it may represent Agamemnon; and, in the same place, he also denies that a beard has been given to Mars, in any one instance, in works of ancient art.

In the villa Borghese stands a figure similar to the Capitoline, but smaller, the head of which, being lost, was restored by a copy from the latter. On the other hand, the antique legs of the former, with their armour, have been preserved, which in the Capitoline figure were wanting, and have been badly restored. On coins of the Bruttii and Mamertini are to be seen bearded heads, which also pass for images of Mars. — GERM. ED.

23. Visconti (*Pio-Clement Museum*, Vol. I., p. 62) considers the statue in the villa Pamfili, which is known by the name of Clodius, to be a young Hercules of this description in female garb. We, however, believe that this beautiful and rare monument represents the young Theseus or Achilles. But our object at present is not disputation, but to mention a few works

of distinguished merit, which are veritable images of the youthful Hercules. We commence, as we ought, with a marble statue in the Florentine gallery, in which the hero, still as a child, is strangling the serpents that were about to wrap him in their folds. This work is somewhat larger than life, and, according to our feeling, there is no one which displays the wonderful art of the ancients in the conformation of ideal, or, to speak more correctly, of idealized shapes, more strikingly, gloriously, and grandly than this.

In this child, who, resting upon his knees, seems to be merely sporting with the serpents, we already see the germ of the future hero, the powerful, indefatigable, invincible hero. The whole figure is so excellent, that every thing in it deserves praise and high esteem, and no one part goes beyond or falls behind the others in congruity or fineness of shape. Still, however, the Herculean forehead, chest, and ribs, the powerful hips, and also the left knee, seem to be positively exquisite, indeed, wonderfully successful. — The right leg and half of the thigh, the tip of the nose, and the right ear, are modern restorations.

Another serpent-throttling little Hercules, differing, however, in attitude from the Florentine Hercules just described, and undoubtedly of later workmanship, exists among the antiquities of the villa Borghese. — Another figure, in this same collection, which is pronounced a young Hercules, we should be inclined to regard as a restored Cupid, with the spoils of Hercules. — On the celebrated beryl, engraved in intaglio by Cneius (*ΓΝΑΙΟC*), in the Strozzi collection of gems, the hero is represented at the age of adolescence. — A few years ago, there was found in the villa Aldobrandini, near Rome, the head of a young Hercules, beautifully wrought in marble, of the size of life, and crowned with grape-leaves. The eyes and mouth have an expression of joyousness; the cheeks are of moderate fulness; and the ears approximate in shape to those which are considered characteristic of the Pancratiasts; and yet — which seems to us remarkable — they have not wholly the character of such an ear, but merely the commencement of it, or a tendency to it. — The artist by whom the nose was awkwardly restored may also have

worked off something from the damaged chin, and from the under lip; hence these parts, although properly not new, contrast ill with the others. — GERM. ED.

24. Among the monuments of ancient art, there have been preserved not only many images of Bacchus, but also some few of high perfection. In our judgment, the upright figure of him, in the garden-building at the entrance of the villa Ludovisi, near Rome, is one of the most beautiful. The noble forms of the body flow into one another with incomparable softness and grace, like gentle waves of bland oil, and the eye of the beholder glides over them, back and forth, with insatiable delight. — The head, which may not, indeed, be the original head belonging to the statue, has a frightful modern nose, and in other respects is by no means excellent. The left knee is modern, and so also appear to be both arms. — Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clement.*, Vol. IV., p. 99) believes that the little winged heads, which, as buckles or latchets, adorn the shoe-straps on the feet of this statue, denote Acratus.

Of equal beauty with this monument is the glorious torso of another statue of the god, which may be found engraved and explained in the *Mus. Pio-Clement.*, Vol. II., Plate 28, with the accompanying remark, that it was valued very highly by Mengs.

The gallery of antiques at Paris contains a statue corresponding to the torso just mentioned, which, it is said, is admirably executed, and also well preserved.

Omitting other beautiful images of Bacchus which adorn different museums, we will mention further only a torso of a seated figure, larger than life, and of exceeding beauty and art, which was formerly an admired object among the Farnese antiquities, but will now be found in Naples. — GERM. ED.

25. Among the most exquisite detached heads of Bacchus, we do not hesitate to assign the first place to that wonderful work of art, known by the name of the Capitoline Ariadne. Winckelmann was the first to relinquish this appellation, thinking that he recognized in it a Leucothea, from the band on the forehead. His reasons for this supposition were properly disputed by Visconti. The monument then passed among antiquari-

ans, almost universally, for the most beautiful of the heads of Bacchus, and as such it was removed to Paris. The original name, however, appears to have again become gradually the favorite. Modern French works which treat of antiquities refer to it anew as Ariadne. We acknowledge ourselves, however, particularly inclined to the opinion that it is a head of Bacchus; for, as our readers will have learnt from the text, the equivocal character of the conformation, wavering between male and female, is in part conformable to the ideal character of Bacchus, and in part belongs to the modern restorations, — namely, a considerable piece of the nose, the under lip, and the upper part of the breast, — which were made under the conviction that the head was female. In regard, however, to this truly wonderful monument, we may still be permitted to remark, that there are few others in which the extreme subtilty with which the idea is conceived is carried out so consummately in execution. Although the forms are uncommonly delicate, they are not, on this account, any the less large; and the execution, with extraordinary softness, is still very decided. In a word, if we were to choose among all the collected works of Greek sculpture, we should be unable to select one more exquisite in itself than this, and more worthy of the most brilliant period of art, and, moreover, of the most celebrated masters of this period. (Plate 9, an outline of the head of this statue.)*

In the miscellaneous room of the Capitoline museum another head of Bacchus is to be found, which is little inferior in excellence of execution to the one just mentioned, the Ariadne, as it is called; like the latter, it has a fillet round the forehead. — The nose is modern; cheek and neck injured; eyes excavated, perhaps for the purpose of being filled with some other substance.

A second head of Bacchus, in the same place, has a lofty character. The tip of the nose, the chin, and the neck are restorations. — A third, and smaller one, in the same place, also with a fillet round the forehead, has always been acknowledged as a Bacchus, and very much prized on account of its pleasing

* See frontispiece. — Tr.

features, although the execution does not indicate the best age of art; for the hair is deeply hollowed by the drill, the ears are placed much too low, the left eye is turned a little obliquely upwards, and is also a little smaller than the other. As the eyes, however, are in other respects of pleasing shape, and may be regarded as characteristic, in reference to the Bacchus-ideal, an engraving of them is given in Plate 10, fig. B, B.

In conclusion, we will mention a fourth head of Bacchus in the same collection. It stands in a gallery in front of the chambers, on a high column, and for this reason is rarely observed. It is larger than life, and crowned with ivy. The locks of hair, falling down somewhat over the forehead, — which is in itself of a very noble character, — point out to our recognition the son of Jupiter. Love and joyousness look forth from the oblong and narrow eyes; the mouth seems to open for pleasure, for enjoyment; the plump cheeks denote a cheerful state of comfort, and are delicately rounded.

The execution of this monument shows an industry quite remarkable, and the handling is in a style wholly peculiar to itself; for the hair, the eyelids, &c., are deeply hollowed underneath, for the purpose of obtaining stronger shadows, and, thereby, greater distinctness when the head is viewed at a distance. — The restorations consist of a few locks of hair, and the larger portion of the nose; the lips also have suffered much. — GERM. ED.

26. The Hermes of a bearded or Indian Bacchus, mentioned in the text as belonging to the sculptor Cavaceppi, is no longer in Rome. But there is no lack of beautiful heads of the kind, in different museums. Of the entire figures of this Bacchus, the most beautiful, without doubt, is the one which is called by the name of Sardanapalus. (*Mus. Pio-Clement.*, Vol. I., Plate 41.) A half-figure, not remarkable for much merit, is still to be found in the Vatican museum. We will, moreover, mention in this place the meritorious head of a bearded Bacchus on coins of Thasus; and as the Bacchus-ideal is very clearly expressed in it, we have thought proper to introduce an enlarged outline of it. (Plate 10, fig. A.)

The shape, as well as the workmanship, of this head displays

a style which is noble, grand indeed, and at the same time severe, — leading us to infer that it is a copy from a glorious temple-statue of the high style; and the same characteristics justify us in ascribing to the coin, without hesitation, a higher antiquity than appears to belong to the Sardanapalus, as it is called, and to the many bearded heads similar to it, that were formerly known by the name of Plato, but which are now acknowledged, all of them, to be images of the Indian Bacchus. — GERM. ED.

27. The difference in the images of Hercules, pertinently noticed by Winckelmann, demands especial attention, for it furnishes a key whereby we may obtain a clear insight into the seeming mystery of the conformation of this hero, especially in the celebrated Farnese statue, and also in some heads engraved on gems.

We are obliged, indeed, to assume two, essentially different, ideal conformations of Hercules. The one which represents him in the career of his exploits and his labors does not aim to ennoble him, but merely to express the extreme measure of the capacity of physical strength and action which can be exhibited in the human shape. As such a design was not to be accomplished in any other way than by an exaggeration of the usual lineaments and forms, art created the powerful bull-neck, the strong, broad shoulders, the firmly interlocking attachments of the massy muscles: neither did it neglect the full projecting sinews and veins; — the former being requisite to denote strength generally; the latter, to indicate exertions either actual or past. This is the class of images or ideals of Hercules considered in his human condition, of which the Farnese statue may be regarded as the universal representative.

The other ideal conformation, of higher conception, aims to present Hercules in a perfect, deified state. He has achieved the deeds which prepared for him the way to Olympus; he is raised above all earthly needs; he enjoys a blissful repose, and is even a beneficent deity.

We now clearly comprehend what a great difference of shape the admirable art of the Greeks could and must give to an im-

age designed on this principle, in contradistinction to the other; how much more noble, pleasing, mild, and beautiful it must have been. These considerations lead, also, to the conclusion, that the torso which stood in the Belvedere of the Vatican is to be regarded as the principal monument of the nobler ideal of Hercules. Here we anticipate the objection, that many statues, as well as relievi, represent the hero under the nobler image, notwithstanding he is engaged in the performance of his exploits. We might, perhaps, evade this objection by replying, that even the ancients have not always understood the spirit of ancient art and of its greatest masters, for from this very cause originated the degeneracy of taste and the decline of art. But the circumstance can be explained satisfactorily in yet another way. It is susceptible of proof, that the nobler ideal of Hercules was invented and perfected at an earlier date than that according to which the hero is represented in the Farnese statue and some other monuments. The latter, indeed, was not generally adopted before the age of Lysippus, and, although completed, appears never to have attained a legitimate authority, since the images of this second class vary, in respect to the features of the face, far more than those of the first. The fundamental idea, however, remains always the same. Now if in many works of a later age we see the nobler, or, if I may so express myself, the divine, shape of Hercules predominant, — even in images representing him in the performance of his labors, — such monuments are either to be viewed as imitations of more ancient works, or, as we have reason to believe, owe their origin to a misunderstanding of the conception.

The most beautiful of the heads of Hercules of the nobler kind still extant, larger than life, and representing the hero at the age of manhood, we know only from casts, which are frequently seen in Rome, as well as in collections elsewhere. The marble is said to have gone to England. The fragment of another, still larger, head of Hercules, admirably executed, stands in the smaller garden-palace of the villa Ludovisi, at Rome. The mouth, beard, ears, and back part of the head have been preserved; the forehead, nose, and eyes, on the other hand, are modern restorations.

It cannot escape attentive observers, that many images of Hercules, even of the nobler kind, have the swollen Pancratiast ears, — which, properly, does not appear to be consistent with the deified condition of the hero. But such ears are given to him, beyond doubt, merely with an allegorical signification, as the tutelary god of the arena.

In order to give the reader some idea of what has been said of the ideal conformation of Hercules, we shall present, in Plate 7, Letter A, an engraving of the forehead, together with the arrangement of the hair, of that glorious head mentioned above as having been carried to England; under letter B, in the same plate, the profile of another noble Hercules, after a beautiful Greek coin; and in Plate 8, Letter A, the head of the Hercules Farnese. — GERM. ED.

28. In this passage, in which Winckelmann ascribes to the images of Jupiter a uniform look of serenity, as a characteristic expression, he appears to have thought principally of two heads only, to be mentioned hereafter, and others similar to them, which were probably copied from the great masterpiece of Phidias, at Olympia, if not immediately and exactly, still with sufficient fidelity to make us acquainted, generally at least, with the idea, the spirit, and the features of it.* It is, however, more than probable that there may have been deviations, — not deviations from the shape, which, having been once accepted, had become, as it were, a legal standard, — but variations in expression; and Visconti's remark, provided it is not extended beyond the limits of the conditions specified, appears to be very correct, — that the epithets applied to Jupiter, as *μειλίχιος*, "the Gracious," *ultor*, "the Avenger," *tonans*, "the Thunderer," *ὅρκιος*, "the Guardian of Oaths," and equally also a passage in Pausanias (lib. 6, cap. 24), justify the inference that a difference of expression conforming to these epithets existed in the several images of the god to which they were applied.

Among the statues of Jupiter still in existence, the large seated figure, formerly in the mansion of the Verospi, but now

* Plate 2 — TR.

in the museum of the Vatican, is perhaps one of the most excellent. Among the busts and single heads, the colossal one which was found in the excavations at Otricoli is the most valued. Visconti asserts that it is the largest of all the heads of Jupiter now in existence. But he is certainly in error; for there is to be found in the Florentine gallery a similar head, just as large, and also in as good, perhaps in even a still better, state of preservation; a kind, lofty, glorious being; noble, serene, and grand beyond all imagination, especially when viewed in profile. The gentle inclination of the head to the right side gives him an uncommon still grace, and becoming mildness. The hair and beard, which are very elegantly arranged, encircle the godlike face with clustering curls. — The nose is new; also some small portions of the hair and breast.

Another head of Jupiter, considerably larger, but much injured, formerly stood outside, and near, the palace of the villa Medici. It was removed thence to Florence, and now adorns the garden Boboli. (Plate 1 shows the forehead, eyes, and arrangement of the hair.) In respect to high moral expression, and lofty majesty, it has, perhaps, preëminence even over those mentioned above.

The Capitoline museum also possesses an admirable, though smaller, head of Jupiter, which formerly stood in the mansion della Valle, and was very much esteemed. — The nose is new, and the hair slightly damaged; moreover, the head does not appear to be well placed upon the bust; it does not, in fact, seem to belong to it. — GERM. ED.

29. This Pluto afterwards passed from the villa Mattei into the Pio-Clement museum.* Visconti, who has engraved and explained it under the name of Serapis, says that it is made of iron-gray basalt. He approves, however, the name given to it by Winckelmann, because several images of Serapis were found which had the attribute of Pluto, namely, the dog Cerberus. But these images belong only to the Sinope-Alexandrian idola-

* Plate 11. This head is engraved after that in the *Pio-Clement Museum*, Vol. VI., Plate 14. — TR.

try, with which the purely Greek Pluto had nothing in common, — as one may see on many bas-reliefs representing the Rape of Proserpine, in none of which Pluto has this head-dress.

Visconti remarks further, that all the statues of Pluto still extant are of moderate workmanship, and not decidedly different from Serapis. The sole head of Pluto without a Modius and the physiognomy attributed to Serapis is in the possession of the prince Chigi. It is a work of wonderful merit. The severe countenance and tangled hair at once proclaim the sovereign of the lower world. — GERM. ED.

30. This great head, of white marble, and wearing a Modius, is of admirable workmanship, and in good preservation. It corresponds, however, but little to what Winckelmann says of the stern aspect of the images of Pluto, since it has rather a mild look. The same is the case with the colossal bust of Serapis, with rays about the head, in the Pio-Clement museum.* (See, Plate 13, another, smaller marble bust of Jupiter Serapis.) We must, therefore, if Winckelmann's opinion in regard to the severe countenance of Pluto is correct, — and it seems to be founded upon the nature of the case itself, — make a distinction between images of Pluto and those of Serapis, — assigning to the former those with a stern look, and those with a mild expression to the latter. But if no distinct separation can be made even in this way, and the faces of Pluto and Serapis flow one into the other, and these in their turn pass over into the character of Jupiter, then we must consider that all such perplexing monuments come from a later Greek age, — in which much that was foreign had been introduced into the Greek mode of thinking, and even art itself no longer adhered firmly to the original images whose character was regarded as canonical, — or that they are, altogether, works executed in the days of the Romans, when many kinds of strange idolatries were intermingled, a confusion which must have made itself felt in some degree by art and its productions. — GERM. ED.

* Plate 12. — This head is engraved after that in the *Pio-Clement Museum*, Vol. VI., Plate 15. — TR.

31. Besides Pluto or Serapis, other deities wore the Modius on their heads, — as Isis, Fortuna, and a Priapus in De la Chausse (*Mus. Roman.*). Winckelmann found a Fortuna with this head-dress in the Stosch museum; he also conjectures that even Ceres may have this attribute.

In the museum Odescalco there is a soldier holding in his hand a small Victoria with the same badge. In shape the Modius resembles a basket of rushes or reeds. A beautiful head of white marble in the cloister of Sant' Ambrogio at Naples — which, according to the assigned character, must be a Pluto — is deserving of note, because an olive-branch, together with ears of grain, can be seen in the bushel or Modius which it wears. — F.

32. The statue of Æsculapius, and especially the head of it, in the villa Albani, is the most beautiful known image of this deity; it even surpasses a colossal figure which stands in the garden of the villa Borghese, in a temple built expressly for it, although the latter is highly remarkable, partly on account of the goodness of the execution, and partly on account of its rare size. The attitude is that most usual in statues of this deity; the right hand holds a staff entwined by a serpent; the left hand, together with the arm, is folded in the mantle, and rests upon the side. The head, considered by itself, has a kind, benevolent, wise character; but is softer and less grand and vigorous than Jupiter's, which it almost exactly resembles in the disposition of the hair, — thus affording a confirmation of Winckelmann's remark. — The right arm, together with the staff and snake, and also the toes of the right foot, are modern restorations.

According to Visconti, the charming group of Æsculapius and Hygeia, in the Pio-Clement museum, is the sole round work in marble which represents these divinities united. Though the heads of both are ancient, still they did not originally belong to the figures.

A remarkable statue, bearing the name of Æsculapius, formerly stood in the Pitti palace, at Florence, and is probably there still. The head resembles those of the (so called) Pla-

to, or Indian Bacchus, and is probably the portrait of a celebrated physician of antiquity, in whose whole figure the artist intended to give an approximate likeness to the character of Æsculapius. The execution of the nude part of the breast, shoulders, &c., is soft, beautiful, and natural. The folds of the robe are admirably arranged, simple, and elegant. — It is much to be regretted that this noble work of art has been broken into many pieces, and been twice restored. The earlier restorations consist of the nose, a piece of the right cheek, the left hand, the right arm, and both feet; the later, of a piece of the forehead above the right eye, the fore-finger of the modern left hand, and the tips of the fingers of the right, which is placed upon the hip. — GERM. ED.

33. This statue of Neptune, of which the style is good and the execution commendable, was carried from the villa Medici to Florence. (Plate 14, Letter A.) Another statue, conjectured, though without full certainty, to be a Neptune, and restored as such, may be found in the *Pio-Clement Museum* (Vol. I., Plate 33).

The images of this deity seem to be, on the whole, very rare; since, in addition to the two large statues just mentioned, and a well-executed small one among the antiquities at Dresden, we know of only a few other figures on relievi, but not a single remarkable head or bust. — GERM. ED.

34. Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clement.*, Plate 5, Vol. VI.) remarks in the following terms upon the head from which this engraving is copied: — "The eyebrows and scaly cheeks, the beard and hair falling in waves, like water, the dolphins fancifully entangled in the beard, and, finally, the waves which encircle the chest and shoulders of this colossal Hermes, are all characters which lead us to conjecture that a marine god is here represented. At the first glance, it might be supposed to be Oceanus, the first-born of the Titans; but, on closer observation, we recognize a sea-deity of the second rank, as, for instance, a Triton. The Bacchic wreath of vine-leaves and ivy is worn by Nereids and Tritons, who are frequently seen celebrating the orgies and festivals of Bacchus, and decorated with his

emblems and habiliments. It is uncertain why the ancient artists denoted so close a connection between Bacchus and the deities of the sea; whether because they regarded him as the symbol of the watery element; or whether because his religious rites, having been brought into Greece from transmarine colonies, may be said to have come, as it were, from the sea, and to have been carried thither by the Nereids; or whether, in fine, this community of emblems and symbols, which the marine deities have with him, may have been derived from Leucothea, the aunt and nurse of Bacchus, and also a sea-goddess, and from Palæmon, her son, the god of harbours and seamen, and his cousin and foster-brother. The horns, like those of a calf, projecting from his temples, instead of nippers or claws, which are observed on other antiques, evidently refer both to the roaring of the stormy sea, and to earthquakes, which, in ancient times, were supposed, with some reason, to have had their cause in subterranean waters, — a terrible phenomenon, which it was customary to ascribe to Neptune principally, and indirectly to the secondary deities of the sea. As the Bacchic Hermæ were used as ornaments for the walks in the beautiful gardens of ancient Rome, so these Triton figures served a similar purpose in the maritime places in which her citizens loved to dwell." — Tr.

The two colossal Tritons' heads, in the villa Albani, mentioned in the text, although equally well executed, are far inferior in artistic merit, and in nobleness and dignity of character, to the Hermes described above, which was found, after Winckelmann's time, at Pozzuoli, and placed in the Vatican museum.

In the Pio-Clement museum there are also two other monuments, very valuable in point of execution, belonging to this class. The first consists of a Triton, or properly a Sea-centaur, who is carrying off a Nymph, — together with a pair of frolicsome Amorini. The figures of this group, which originally embellished a fountain, are not quite of the size of life; it was found in a *pozzolana*-pit near Rome, outside of the Porta Latina. The second is the half-figure of a Triton, somewhat larger, and of still better execution; it was discovered at Sant' Angelo

near Tivoli. Engravings of these two monuments may be seen in the *Pio-Clement Museum*, Vol. I., Plates 34 and 35.

The bust in the Capitoline museum, of which Winckelmann makes mention in the text, a few lines above, is a double Hermes, very well executed, and in good preservation, that may be found in the miscellaneous room; the fins about the eyes are rendered more plainly on this than on any other monument. In the same room there is also a bust which was formerly held to be a Faun; it is without horns, has pointed ears, and, in respect to the features of the face, resembles the half-figure in the Pio-Clement museum mentioned above. This, likewise, represents a Triton. The head is well preserved, and admirably executed. The breast appears to be modern. — GERM. ED.

35. The picture by Poussin here mentioned, or at least one wholly similar, is in the Florentine gallery. The objections made by Winckelmann are well grounded, for Theseus has a pretty strong beard, and the back-ground of the picture is ornamented with extensive ruins, amidst which, among other things incongruous with the subject represented, occurs an arch having Corinthian pilasters. However, this landscape in the back-ground is precisely the most valuable portion of the painting, for the figures are neither well conceived nor well arranged, nor are they carefully drawn. — GERM. ED.

CHAPTER II.

1. ALSO Diana, as Visconti shows (*Mus. Pio-Clement.*, Vol. I., Plate 10, Note *b*). — F.

2. Heyne seeks to prove, from many odes to be found in the Greek Anthology, that the Medicean Venus is to be considered as standing before Paris, and Böttiger, in his valuable notices, justifies Heyne's conjecture. — GERM. ED.

3. The Venus of the Capitoline museum must be numbered among the most beautiful figures of this kind. She is somewhat larger than the Venus de' Medici, and more developed

in regard to the character of her shape. In artistic merit she is but little inferior to the other; and her attitude, as Winckelmann observes, is altogether the same. Instead of a dolphin, a tall unguent-vase stands by her side, upon which is placed a cloth ornamented with fringe. — The nose, the thumb and forefinger of the left hand, and the thumb and middle finger of the right hand, are restorations. The restoration of the nose was not happily made; indeed, the beautiful face was disfigured by it: whether this is the case now, we do not know. The lips, especially the upper one, are somewhat damaged. An engraving of this statue may be found in the *Monum. Antiques du Musée Napoléon*, Tom. I., Plate 56. — GERM. ED.

4. The Venus of Menophantus was discovered on the slope of Monte Celio, in Rome, and subsequently came into possession of Prince Chigi. The attitude of this statue is nearly the same as that of the Venus de' Medici; but with her left hand she holds before herself the end of a drapery, trimmed with fringe, which falls down on the scroll — or, as Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clement.*, Vol. I., pp. 19, 92) supposes it, the jewel-box — bearing the inscription, and serves as a support to the figure.

The head possesses much that is lovely, and, as respects the ideal expressed in it, and also in the arrangement of the hair, it resembles the heads of the Medicean, Capitoline, Dresden, and other exquisite statues of Venus. The forms, generally, are elegant and slender; and the faultless proportions justify the supposition that the original copied by Menophantus was an admirable work.

Though the handling of the flesh, as well as of the hair, indicates a practised and skilful artist, still it is far from having attained that bewitching, tender softness which we perceive in the Capitoline Venus, and other works of the best periods of art. As far as we can judge from the mechanical indications, it does not seem to belong even to the earlier times of the Roman empire. — The nose and both arms are modern; some repairs have also been made in the drapery; and there are some slight injuries on the lips. (See the engraving, *Mus. Pio-Clement.*, Vol. IV., Plate 68.) — GERM. ED.

5. This is stated in the following inscription on a cube, at her feet, on which falls the drapery that she holds before her abdomen : —

ΑΠΟΤΗC
ϵΝΤΡωΑΔΙ
ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗC
ΜΗΝΟΦΑΝΤΟC
ϵΠΟΙϵΙ

"Menophantus made [me] after the Venus in Troas."*

We know, however, nothing more respecting this artist than of the original from which he copied. Troas lay in the Trojan territory, otherwise called also Alexandria and Antigonia; and we find a victor mentioned (*conf.* Scaliger, *Poet.*, lib. 1, cap. 24) who had obtained the first prize in the great games of Greece. In regard to the form of the letters, the reader can see my remarks (*Monum. Antiq. Inedit.*, p. 221) on the statue, recently discovered, bearing the name of Sardanapalus. — W.

6. Several antiquarians are disposed to doubt the existence of such antique higher ideals of Venus, or images of the Venus Urania. But Pausanias (lib. 1, cap. 19) mentions a Hermes that was to be found at Athens, in the character of Venus Urania; also (lib. 3, cap. 23) an image in wood representing the goddess as armed; and (lib. 6, cap. 25) a statue by Phidias, of ivory and gold, in which the Venus Urania was represented as standing with one foot on a tortoise. It is not to be supposed that an artist like Phidias would have given to his image no definite character suitable to the idea to be expressed. Such a supposition is rendered even the less probable when we know that in the vicinity of the Venus Urania of Phidias stood a Venus Vulgivaga of bronze, seated on a goat, — a work by Scopas. Unless there had been striking differences in the two statues, Pausanias would not have contrasted them with one another in the way he has done. Hence we believe with Winckelmann, that such statues of Venus Urania did really exist and do exist now; and that they are distinguished from other images of Venus partly by lof-

* Incorrectly rendered in the text by *Troy*. — Tr.

tier majesty and earnestness, and partly by the diadem, which is higher in the middle, and slopes gradually to each extremity.

Winckelmann has contented himself, in another place, with adducing as an example of this Venus a bust, or rather a head, — for the rest is modern, — in the villa Borghese; it possesses, however, but little merit of execution.

The most beautiful known heads of the heavenly Venus are, —

(1.) One of admirable Greek marble in the museum at Mantua. It is adorned with a diadem, like a Juno; but the features are the features of Venus, with the exception that a far higher, more earnest meaning than usual pervades them. — This remarkable monument has suffered somewhat in the eyes, and also in other places.

(2.) In the Florentine gallery there is a well-known estimable statue which bears the name of Venus Urania (Gori, *Mus. Flor.*, Vol. III., Plate 30); it bends slightly forward, and holds the gathered drapery before its middle. Both arms, together with the right foot, are new, and the drapery has been retouched. The head, which is a masterpiece of beauty and noble grace, surpasses the body, and apparently does not belong to it, although the statue rightly owes its name to the head. — It is a pity that it is so much injured. The nose, the under lip, the chin, the greater portion of the neck, and the two locks of hair knotted on the crown of the head, are modern restorations; but the diadem is a genuine antique. The features generally exhibit about the same character as those in the monument just mentioned, at Mantua.

(3.) A head, furnished with a diadem, and of which the forms, not less beautiful than appropriate, proclaim it to be a head of Venus, was formerly in the museum at Cassel.

(4.) The gallery of antiques at Dresden also possesses a beautiful fragment of such a head, which, by being set upon a figure not originally belonging to it, has been restored as a Ceres.

In Plate 16, Letters B and C, we present two eyes, one drawn after the Dresden fragment, and the other after the head formerly to be found at Cassel. By these engravings we hope to show how great a mistake is usually made in regard to most

of the images of this kind, in naming them Juno, on account of the diadem. — GERM. ED.

7. Well known to the lovers of antiquity by the name of the Ludovisi Juno. It is incomparably grand and lofty, and yet lovely and beautiful beyond measure. The tip of the nose is the only restoration; in other respects, — the marks of a few bruises on the right cheek excepted, — this glorious work is not perceptibly injured. The left eye seems to be somewhat flatter than the right; the difference, however, is probably not original; time and accident may have occasioned some abrasion at this point. (See Plate 16, Letter A, the face of this Juno in profile.)

Besides this colossal head of Juno, there are two other admirable heads of the same goddess in the villa Ludovisi. One of them, somewhat larger than life, stands near the former in the library of the villa. The features are lovely, yet without detracting any thing from the majesty and loftiness of the character; a drapery or veil floats from the head, behind the high diadem. This beautiful monument is not perceptibly injured, with the exception of the tip of the nose, which is modern, and a few injuries to the neck where it unites with the chest. — The other, which is twice as large as life, and, consequently, must be classed among the colossal heads of Juno, may be found in the smaller garden-palace of the same villa, on the staircase leading to the upper apartments. The features are large and noble; but the handling of the flesh, and the deep grooves between the locks of hair, appear to point to the times of the Roman empire.

We will add that the imperial museum at Paris possesses a head of Juno resembling the smaller Ludovisi head, which is likewise larger than life, and has a veil behind the diadem. (*Monum. Ant. du Musée Napoléon*, Tom. I., Plate 5.) A colossal head of Juno of superior execution, but without a diadem, may, it is said, be found at Sarsko-Selo, near St. Petersburgh. — GERM. ED.

8. Roma was occasionally represented with a short tucked-up robe, almost like an Amazon; she may be seen draped in

this manner on different relievi; but at times she has long drapery, and is armed, and so far resembles Pallas. Of this kind are, in particular, some few seated figures, among which the one of porphyry, over the fountain by the palace of the senator on the Capitol, has the most artistic merit. Her charming face is slightly averted; the drapery clings to the body in folds which are numerous, it is true, but yet arranged with uncommon prettiness.

In the court of the palace of the Conservatori is another Roma, of marble, somewhat larger, likewise seated, but far inferior to the former. The folds of the drapery are meagre and deep, and form no masses. The head and shoulders as low as the breasts are modern; also the hands and the advanced left foot. The antique picture in the palace Barberini represents Roma in long clothes, and seated; a tolerably successful colored engraving of it may be found in the *Almanac of Rome*, of the year 1810, published by Sickler and Reinhart.

We must not omit the almost colossal marble head of Roma in the villa Borghese. In regard to the skill displayed in the execution, it is unquestionably to be esteemed more highly than any other of the known monuments relating to this subject. On the helmet Romulus and Remus are wrought in relief. — The breast and one half of the nose are modern; and the slightly injured lips have been mended with stucco.

Finally, we would remark that the helmet of Roma usually has not a projecting front, which the greater number, and the most beautiful, of the images of Pallas have, but it lies close to the forehead, as the Roman soldiers were accustomed to wear it. — GERM. ED.

9. Winckelmann means here the perfectly preserved statue of Pallas, which, as far as we know, still stands in the villa Albani, and is certainly one of the admirable monuments of the high style. (See a profile outline of the face in Plate 18, Letter A.) The forms are not delicate, for that would be contrary to the idea of power; neither are they soft, for softness would detract from the severe earnestness, the loftiness, of her countenance; they are not even to be termed elegant, for that would

not comport with the elevation and grandeur which were the principal objects of the artist; but they are divinely pure, beautiful, and lofty. The folds of the drapery are masterpieces of drawing, and of the finest selection, although they are not kept in masses so broad and undisturbed as to enable them to produce, by shade and light, a strong and particularly a pleasing effect. This monument, however, may have been executed before light and shade had been accurately observed, and the rules of their application to the plastic arts discovered.

It will be seen from these remarks that we are nearly of the same opinion as Winckelmann in regard to the high merit of this noble monument. We do not, however, by any means, intend on this account to disparage in the least other celebrated images of Minerva. The former Giustiniani statue — now in the possession of the Senator Lucien Bonaparte, if we do not mistake — is no less valuable; and although it seems to come from the same age of the severe style, still, for the taste of the present day, it possesses more of those characteristics that invite and attract. Of late, greater, indeed nearly the greatest, reputation has fallen to the share of the almost colossal Pallas of Velletri (see an outline of the face in Plate 17), although in pure merit as a work of art it is probably inferior to the two just named; at least, it does not excel them. An outline of this monument may be found in Millin (*Monum. Ant. Ined.*, Vol. II., Plate 23), and a beautifully executed engraving in the *Musée François*, by Robillard Peronville (livr. 26). Similar to it, or else admirably copied, like it, from the same exquisite prototype, is the bust which formerly stood in the villa Albani, of proportions about as large as those of the statue last named, and which is to be less highly valued only in so far as it is not in so good a state of preservation; for a considerable portion of the nose is new, and restorations are observable in the under lip, also, as well as on the lower eyelid. — GERM. ED.

10. In the gallery of the palace Colonna is a glorious Diana in long drapery, the wonderful head of which is probably the most beautiful of all the heads of this goddess now remaining. The features are delicate and of exceeding beauty; her bear-

ing divinely lofty; and, undisturbed by nearer objects, she looks, with an earnest, eager gaze, straight forward into the far distance. A slight expression of pride and coyness relieves, or rather elevates, the indifference of her character. The drapery of this noble, slender figure lies in elegant folds. The execution is generally good, and the monument so well preserved throughout, that even the hands are for the most part antique. On the head, merely the nose needed to be restored.

Among the most beautiful images of Diana we must enumerate also the torso of a slender figure, having long drapery, in the villa Borghese, which is known by the name of La Zingarella, "The Gypsy Girl."

The statue of Diana in short drapery, which has been in France since the time of Henry the Fourth, is also celebrated, and without doubt justly, although we say so not from our own judgment, having never seen it. It represents her in the action of running, with a hind by her side. Engravings of this valued monument may be found in the *Musée François*, Livr. 15, and *Monum. Ant. du Musée Napoléon*, Tom. I., Plate 51. — GERM. ED.

11. There is nothing more common than to see in museums figures restored as Ceres, and nothing, on the contrary, is more rare than really genuine statues of this goddess. Even Winckelmann himself was unable to refer to a single one.

The sole figure in marble, of the size of life, which can be regarded with certainty as an image of Ceres, stands in the villa Borghese. The head is of lofty beauty, and wears the pointed diadem, about which lies a wreath of wheat-ears. The mantle is admirably executed, with the single exception that the folds are too numerous. — The nose is a restoration; the upper lip is somewhat injured; the greater part of the wreath of wheat-ears may possibly also be a modern work. So, too, we judge the chaplet of flowers in the left hand, and the bunch of wheat-ears in the raised right hand, to be new.

Another, larger figure, in the same place, likewise beautifully executed, is one of the spurious images mentioned above, which has been converted into a Ceres merely by the attributes given to it by the modern restorer. — GERM. ED.

12. The third volume of the *Monumenti Antichi Inediti* never appeared. — GERM. ED.

13. Sophocles terms the Furies ἀεὶ παρθένους, "always virgins," in *Ajax*, verse 837. The tragic writer, Æschylus, was the first, as Pausanias (lib. 1, cap. 28) relates, who represented them with snakes in their hair. But the statues of these divinities in the temple consecrated to them, which was situated on the Areopagus at Athens, did not have a fearful character, any more than the images of the other subterranean deities standing in the same temple. — GERM. ED.

14. Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clement.*, Vol. XI., p. 64) thinks that the arm of the Perseus, in the palace Lanti at Rome, mentioned by Winckelmann, and also the Medusa's head, are of modern workmanship. He likewise expresses many doubts in regard to the name of this statue, since the ægis over the shoulder belongs not to Perseus, but rather to a statue of Jupiter, or of a deified Augustus. The decision of this latter point we will leave to others more learned than ourselves. But on account of the Medusa's head, which Winckelmann pronounces the most beautiful in marble, we should be pleased to hear the reasons why Visconti holds it to be a modern work. We have frequently examined with attention, and never without astonishment, this admirable, and, in our opinion, antique monument. It is an ideal in which there is a glorious blending of the pleasing with the terrible, of soft forms with fierceness of character. The good effect of the whole is disturbed, or at least impaired, by the badly restored nose, and the awkward way in which the injured lips have been botched. The chin is very small, but very prominent; the mouth is large; the corners of the mouth deep. The line of the forehead and the beginning of the nose, as far as the antique part extends, waves and bends in a gentle and pleasing manner; the eyes are closed; the cheeks, pretty in form, not very round, yet showing with soft outlines the muscles and bones.

It is very probable that Winckelmann did not know the celebrated head — properly face or mask — of Medusa, which stood in the palace Rondinini, larger than life, and wrought of white

marble, in high relief. This admirable work is executed with rare industry, but conceived in a much severer sense, and with less loveliness, than the head just mentioned, in the palace Lanti, or the beautiful small Medusa-head wrought in high relief on the cuirass of a bust of the Emperor Adrian in the Capitoline museum. The forms, however, are large, and even beautiful, although they incline, as the artist intended, to the fierce and terrible. For this purpose, the teeth, also, are exhibited in the open, poison-exhaling mouth. A certain hardness and sharpness visible in the features, as an expression of rigidity, is another masterly and intentional stroke. — One wing of the nose and the extreme tip of it, together with some trifling restorations of the snakes, are the sole modern parts. — GERM. ED.

15. It will appear inconceivable to many how Winckelmann could doubt, for a time, the genuineness of a monument of ancient art so justly admired as is the head of Medusa engraved by Solon. But who will come forward and say that he has judged erroneously on such subjects?

It is to be remarked, that Fea, in reference to this work of Solon (*Storia delle Arti*, Tom. I., p. 324, note C), falls into the very remarkable error of speaking of it as a cameo; whereas every tyro in knowledge of ancient art — every one, indeed, who has seen only one impression of the Medusa's head by Solon — must know that it is an intaglio, or deeply cut stone, and not a cameo, or cut in relief. Fea also asserts that the gem is still whole, and that Winckelmann's account of its fracture into two pieces must apply to some other cameo. — GERM. ED.

The reader will find in Plate 14, Letter B, an engraving of this very beautiful head, which is not, probably, excelled by any one, unless it may be the intaglio mentioned in the text as having been executed by Sosicles. The original gem by Solon is in the Florentine museum; and an engraving of it may be found in the second volume, plate seventh, of the *Museum Florentinum*, from which the present engraving is copied. — TR.

16. The most important of the still extant statues of Amazons appear to be copied principally from two originals of ancient celebrity, which nearly resembled each other in shape and

features, but differed in action. This circumstance Winckelmann has overlooked, and hence erroneously supposes that all Amazon-statues are made with a wound in the breast, or, more properly, under it. The Amazon-statue which formerly stood in the villa Mattei, and was afterwards transferred to the Pio-Clement museum, undoubtedly possesses the most merit as a work of art. An engraving of this monument may be found in the *Mus. Pio-Clement.*, Vol. XI., Plate 28, in the *Musée François*, Liv. 57, and in the *Statues* published by Piranesi.

This figure may without hesitation be classed among works of the severe style of Greek art at the time when it was gradually becoming milder, and was beginning to incline to the more tender, to the beautiful, and the pleasing. We see in it — and the idea is carried into execution with a felicity that cannot be surpassed — a noble, vigorous female form, perfectly developed in every limb by constant exercise, standing in a state of repose, with the right hand bent across the head, and with the left hand, which hangs by its side, holding a bow. — The modern restorations are the right leg, as low as the ankle, including a portion of the knee; likewise both arms, the nose, chin, and under lip; the neck is doubtful.

One of the Amazon-statues in the Capitoline museum — of which the text makes mention in the following paragraph — is perfectly similar to that just described, especially since it has been lately restored, and one of those well-preserved heads, formerly kept in the miscellaneous room, been placed upon it, as Winckelmann wished. This figure also has an extraordinary degree of merit, and if it must yield the superiority in lofty, pure beauty to the above-mentioned statue in the Pio-Clement museum, it appears able, nevertheless, to dispute with it the palm in pleasing grace. — One half of the nose, the raised right hand, and also the left, the left foot, and the toes of the right, are modern; the leg, from the lower edge of the knee to the ankle, is either badly joined, or else is a modern restoration.

Another Amazon in the Capitoline museum is remarkable, partly because the name, CωCIKAH, is engraved on the trunk of a tree which serves as a support, and partly because it dif-

fers from the figures before mentioned, not only in posture and in the folds of the drapery, but even in expression. She has a wound below the right breast; the right arm is held up over the head, whilst the left is employed in lifting the robe from the wound. Hence, the face exhibits an expression of pain and suffering; whilst, on the other hand, the two figures first mentioned are without a wound, and appear merely serious and unconcerned. The work of Sosicles — if it be assumed that the name engraved denotes the artist by whom the work was executed — is, however, not altogether so slender in its proportions as the others; it may also have lost somewhat of its original sharpness and the learning of its finish, rubbed off by the hands of modern artists. The head has never been broken from the trunk; and, with the exception of the tip of the nose and a small portion of the under lip, it has also no restorations. On the other hand, the whole of the raised right arm, and the left fore-arm, together with that piece of the robe which the hand raises from the wound, are modern work, as are also two toes of the left foot. It is probable that the legs are the original antique legs, but that they have been retouched about the ankles, where they were broken off from the feet; on this account, the latter appear somewhat heavy, and the former too slender.

Pliny (lib. 34, cap. 8, § 19) speaks of five Amazons by celebrated masters, which were kept in the temple of Diana at Ephesus. The one most esteemed was by Polycletus; the second by Phidias; the third by Ctesilaus; the fourth by Cydon; and the fifth by Phradmon. The Amazon of Ctesilaus showed her wound; it is, therefore, scarcely to be doubted, that, in the above-mentioned Capitoline statue bearing the name of Sosicles, and in other similar works, we possess more or less accurate copies of it. Though the action of the Amazon of Polycletus is not known positively, still it is possible that the figures holding a bow may be copies from it; for the most esteemed work would, probably, be copied the most frequently, and with the greatest exactness. Indeed, if it were not that Pliny includes all the above-mentioned five Amazons in the temple of Diana at Ephesus among the bronze images, that glorious statue of the

villa Mattei might pass for the original executed by Polycletus himself. The Amazon of Phidias stood leaning on a lance, as Lucian relates (*Imagin.*, lib. 11, cap. 4); but as yet we have no known copy of it. Of the works of Cydon and Phradmon we possess no circumstantial account, and therefore cannot recognize the copies, of which there are perhaps some still extant. We find ourselves in a similar embarrassment in regard to a sixth celebrated Amazon-figure, executed in bronze by Strongylion, which obtained the epithet *Εὔκνημος*, on account of the beauty of its legs. (Plin., lib. 34, cap. 19, § 21.)

It deserves, however, a passing remark, that we occasionally also see Amazons on horseback, in different attitudes, — as, for example, the Herculaneum figure in bronze (*Mus. Ercol.*, Vol. VI., Plates 63, 64), and the marble figure in the garden of the villa Borghese, dashing against a warrior, who, supported on one knee, is defending himself with sword and shield against her assault; beneath the horse sits, crouched together, another warrior, who serves as a support to the Amazon. There were formerly in the palace Farnese two single figures of mounted Amazons. Of the numerous Amazon-figures which have been preserved on relievi, engraved gems, and in paintings on vases, our present purpose does not require us to speak. — GERM. ED.

17. The Diana Venatrix (so called) stands in the round hall of the palace Pamfili. It is dressed in a short robe, almost after the manner of the Amazons; so that there appears to be some ground for Winckelmann's conjecture. It is worth inquiry by future investigators, whether the partly antique dog by the side of the figure belonged originally to it, or whether it is an ancient fragment arbitrarily adjoined to it in modern times. In the former case, this figure is distinguished in a remarkable manner from all other Amazons. — The workmanship of this monument is good. A portion of the head, and likewise the arms and legs, are new. — GERM. ED.

18. Petit, *De Amazon.*, cap. 33, p. 259. — GERM. ED.

19. It will be difficult to adjust the dispute between the lovers of art and the connoisseurs in horses, respecting the beauty or ugliness of the antique images of horses. For he whose

taste has been cultivated in the noblest and most beautiful forms of works of art will judge differently from one who is accustomed to prefer that which is rare, or useful, or perhaps merely customary. An English horse without a docked tail would not please the latter, whilst, on the other hand, the former considers docking of the tail to be an outrage against nature. The same difference of opinion may be said to exist in regard also to beauty of shape in men. But enough! The horse of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol is more admirable than any one that has been executed by modern artists; yet it is not of so fine, elegant, and active an appearance as the horses of the two Balbi in the Bourbon museum at Naples, and these in their turn must yield to the four horses which adorn the portal of the church of St. Mark, at Venice. — GERM. ED.

20. Winckelmann is right in saying that the ancient lions are ideal in shape. They are so, in so far as art, when forming her creations, poetically elevated them above the bare reality of nature. But they who suppose that it substituted in the place of lions another and an imaginary race of animals are very much in error, and their censure on this account is misapplied. It has done to lions neither more nor less than to other beasts, and to beasts generally not more than to man. It can be asserted, with just as much appearance of truth, that the ancient statues are unlike actual men, as that the ancient images of lions are unlike real lions. The Colossus of Phidias, on Monte Cavallo, in Rome, looks, in truth, no more like a pitiful, oppressed, starved citizen, than the great lion couchant before the Arsenal at Venice, or the standing lion, wrought in relief, on the staircase of the palace Barberini, at Rome, is to a miserable, worried lion of a menagerie. — GERM. ED.

CHAPTER III.

1. This Dancer was afterwards transferred to the Pio-Clement museum. Visconti (Vol. III., Plate 30, pp. 39, 40) has given an engraving and explanation of it. He first says, that the chaplet with which the beautiful head of this figure is adorned is formed, not of flowers, but of ivy-blossoms. He then goes on to remark, — "Though this statue does not exhibit in its forms the nobleness and slenderness observable in other yet more admirable works of sculpture, still it is to be classed among the masterpieces of antiquity, on account of the truth, grace, and softness with which the shape and features of a beautiful woman are copied, who, in the Campanian pleasure-gardens, — where the statue was discovered, — had, probably, once fascinated by her allurements a voluptuous crowd." — Germ. Ed.

2. Pausan., lib. 6, cap. 25. Translators have not rightly understood this form of speech, *Τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ποδῶν ἐπιπλέκων τῷ ἑτέρῳ*. They have rendered it by *pedem pede premere*, "to set one foot on the other"; whereas it should have been rendered by *decussatis pedibus*, which in Italian signifies *gambe incrocicchiate*, "with the legs crossed." — W.

3. If this doubt of Winckelmann were to obtain credit, how many other coins would be rejected as not genuine! Providence, standing and resting against a column, is seen in this attitude on a coin of Alexander Severus (Musellii *Numismat. Antiq.*, Part 11, Tab. 75, No. 7); another female figure (No. 8) in a similar position; Perpetual Security, on a coin of the Emperor Gallienus (Tab. 223, No. 6), and on a coin of the Emperor Tacitus (Tab. 234, No. 4); Public Joy, on the reverse of two coins of Julia Mammæa (Tab. 182, Nos. 2, 3); the Peace of Augustus on a coin of Æmilianus (Banduri, *Numism. Imperat. Roman.*, Tom. I., p. 92). — F.

This attitude is, however, usually given only to figures in which it is intended to express stability and repose. Hence, all of them, as far as we know, lean against the stump of a column. — Germ. Ed.

4. Winckelmann deserves infinite credit for having discovered and unfolded, more clearly than any other antiquarian, the high merit of these masterpieces. But when he says that this state of unspeakable anguish, of horror-struck sensibility, leaves the features unchanged, and thus allowed the embodiment in these figures of the highest and purest beauty, it seems as if he wished to defend the artist of Niobe and her daughters merely by an ingenious explanation, or to praise him conditionally, and tacitly concede the justice of the matter-of-fact objection usually made by incompetent judges, that the work is deficient in force of expression. But we maintain that it needs for its defence no such display of elaborate reasons. We must simply acknowledge what is obvious, that the artist's conception of his figures is raised far above the level of common nature, and that, in the execution of his idea, he has everywhere continued true to that justness and purity of taste which avoids whatever is not beautiful. In a word, in order to judge correctly of this wonder of ancient art, we must soar into the regions of poesy, and not erroneously suppose that the progress of the action in a highly tragic work of art should be the same as where death happens in the ordinary way. Considered in this manner, Niobe and her daughters need no justification, or any supposition of inexpressiveness resembling the stupefaction of anguish, but they are unconditionally correct and excellent in conception and execution. — Germ. Ed.

5. The expression of pain is much stronger in the Laocoön than in the Niobe. But it must be considered that this work was intended to solve the problem of expressing a real bodily pain, and therefore admitted, indeed required, the manifestation of painful sensations to be more strongly indicated. Moreover, this work is the production of art at a later period, when it was more finished in itself, and required more finish in its productions, — when its style was refined, noble, and beautiful, but not so elevated, as that of the Niobe. No one can prize the Laocoön more highly than we do; it is a miracle, the sum and abstract of all art; but a godlike spirit streams from the Niobe, and impels heavenward the feelings of the spectator. — Germ. Ed.

6. Marcus Agrippa on this work has no beard; the architect and soldier have beards. — F.

7. Among the ancient Romans, the symbol on coins and other monuments of the conquest of a province was a woman in a sitting posture, supporting her head on her hand, and her elbow on the knee, which was drawn up. In this manner the conquest of Judea is symbolically represented on numerous coins of Vespasian and Titus; so, likewise, is the conquest of Germany, Sarmatia, Armenia; and that of Dacia may be seen on a beautiful bas-relief under the statue of Roma Triumphans in the palace of the Conservatori, on the Capitol. Still, I do not venture to doubt the genuineness of the coin adduced by Winckelmann, because old coins of an impression hitherto unknown are daily found. — F.

8. It is evident from the connection, that Winckelmann has committed a clerical error here, in writing "celebrated head of Prudence," instead of "celebrated head of Justice"; for the former is represented as aged, and, although well executed, is not much esteemed; but the latter is a celebrated work. She is young, beautiful, and of a voluptuous cast of countenance; she is, moreover, a little more nude than is proper. From Christian decency, therefore, and because a Spaniard once became enamoured of her, she has been invested with a bronze garment, so constructed, however, that it can be unscrewed; and a gratuity from the lovers of nudities will procure its removal. — GERM. ED.

9. The Santa Susanna of François Quesnoy, called Fiammingo, stands in the church of the Madonna di Loretto in Rome. It is a marble statue, about, or perhaps a little above, the natural size. A crown and sceptre lie at her feet; in her right hand she holds a palm-twig, and with her left it was probably intended that she should point at the crown and sceptre at her feet; but she actually points over and beyond them. The execution of this work is very elaborate; the style of the forms inclines to the tender, beautiful, and noble; the drawing is well understood, the proportions faultless, the features charming, and the turn of the figure very pleasing. The drapery, as a whole,

is prettily disposed, but the masses are wanting in purity and repose. — GERM. ED.

10. The statue of Santa Bibiana stands in the church of the same name in Rome. It is accounted the masterpiece of the celebrated Bernini. It is a figure in white marble, of about the size of life, and is executed with extreme industry, polished, and hollowed out beneath. The handling of the flesh is uncommonly soft and tender. This work, considered in regard to conception, is fundamentally poetical and good. The artist wished to represent the saint as looking towards heaven with rapture and delight in the enjoyment of blessedness. But the idea is not carried out with the requisite degree of elevation. We see in the holy Bibiana nothing more than a youthful figure in an attractive attitude, with a pretty face and delicate hands, but whose features and whole air express a terrestrial, sensual well-being and pleasure, rather than the pious, enraptured joy of a blessed saint. The drapery is prettily arranged, but its folds, according to this master's usual manner, are extraordinarily deep. — GERM. ED.

11. This celebrated picture with half-figures, by Leonardo da Vinci, was formerly in the Borghese Aldobrandini gallery at Rome, but it is said to have been removed to England a few years since. The purity of form, and the expression, in the youthful Christ are altogether exquisite; the heads of the Pharisees are full of character, and seemingly alive; the coloring, also, appears to be more lively and florid in this picture than in other works of the same artist. — GERM. ED.

12. The Madonna del Sacco, as it is called, is a fresco painting in the cross-passage of the convent of the Santa Annunziata, in a lunette over the door which leads into the church. It represents the Holy Family reposing whilst on their flight into Egypt. — GERM. ED.

13. The Pietà of Annibal Caracci represents Mary with the dead body of Christ in her lap, and two small weeping angels. The grouping, drawing, and expression are glorious, grand, and vigorously pure; the strong and somewhat darker coloring of which this artist made use in his earlier life harmonizes well with the tragic subject of the picture. — GERM. ED.

CHAPTER IV.

1. The author appears to contradict here what he has said in the previous paragraph. — Germ. Ed.

2. It seems as though we ought to infer just the reverse, for the connection of the text throughout shows that the neck is believed to swell after indulgence in the pleasures of love. Twice the measure of the neck must, therefore, lengthen the string. It is, consequently, a sign of inviolate chastity, if, when the middle of the measure is held in the mouth, the two ends scarcely meet upon the head; a greater length indicates the reverse. — Germ. Ed.

3. Winckelmann probably refers, in this passage, to a head of Bacchus, the ears of which are placed too low, in the miscellaneous room of the Capitoline museum. He calls it Leucothea, because he considered himself authorized to apply this name to all Bacchic heads with a band on the forehead, if the features were in a measure undecided. His reasons, however, have been found insufficient. We must also recollect that this head is not strictly one of the doubtful kind; for this reason it has, as far as we know, always been considered as a Bacchus, and is still considered such. — Germ. Ed.

4. The author was unquestionably wrong in his belief that the feet of the Laocoön are of unequal length. It is objected to the right leg of the larger boy, that it is longer from the knee to the foot than the other. The same excuse is usually made, in this instance, as for the undue length of the left foot of the Apollo Belvedere, namely, that the artist intentionally added so much to these more remote parts, because their increased distance would necessarily detract from their size as seen by the observer. But we much fear that this justification is a greater fault than those it is intended to excuse. Such a system of enlargement of the more distant, and consequently corresponding diminution of the nigher limbs, if introduced into a plastic work of art, would necessarily unsettle all proportions, and produce profiles offensive both to the eye and taste. Fortunately, the

masterpieces in question need no such elaborate justification. The inequality in the length of the legs of the son of Laocoön, as well as in the feet of the Apollo, is, especially in the latter, much more trifling than it is said to be. These grounds of defence, based on perspective effect, are less applicable to the unequal length of the feet of some Egyptian statues, in which the art is simpler and ruder, than to Greek statues. It is therefore best to consider these deviations simply as errors. — GERM. ED.

5. Instead of "and thence (the depression above the chin) to the tip of the chin," we must read "from the depression to the point of the chin are two parts"; that is to say, as much space is given to the chin, from its depression to its point, as there is from this same depression to the lower extremity of the nose, or one sixth of the whole length of the face. "The breadth of the nose to the edges of the nostrils contains one such portion"; this passage must be understood to mean, that the nose must be as broad as the length of an eye, or equal in its breadth to the length of the chin. It appears to us, moreover, to be incorrectly stated, that the "length of the mouth is equal to the length of the eyes"; whereas it is half as long again, as Winckelmann himself also thought, since he adds, "and to the height of the chin measured to the opening of the mouth," which is actually a length and a half of that of the eyes.* — GERM. ED.

6. This remark of the author is more applicable to plastic works than to painting. We know, from many passages of the ancient writers, that the painters both of the earlier and later periods frequently represented in their works large, intricate compositions, as, for instance, Micon, in his *Battle of the Amazons with the Athenians*, Euphranor, in his *Battle of Mantinea*, &c. But it cannot be denied, that, in the most valued works of the ancient painters, the utmost simplicity in composition and the severest economy in figures were observed. — GERM. ED.

7. If it be conceded that all the ancient artists derived their

* On p. 147, line 8, for "two of these three on each side," read "these two portions." — TR.

subjects from Homer, the admission must at least not be understood in a strictly literal sense. We must not believe that they, like so many of the moderns, translated the words of the poet into images. If this had been the case, the inquiry might be made, why so many antique monuments are difficult of explanation; and we might, with some show of truth, draw therefrom an inference unfavorable to the excellence of ancient art. But the case is actually otherwise. The formative artist did not sacrifice his freedom of thought to the poet. He did not even copy him. He only worked up in his own way the material which the poet elaborated in his way; but both drew from the same primitive spring, tradition. It cannot, however, be denied, that the material of such plastic embodiments, especially at a later period, was taken from Homer. But the artist did not anxiously cling to the words of the poet; they were to him rather a stimulus to invent and compose in his own way. For the ancients had a better knowledge of what pertained to poetry, and what to the plastic arts, than the moderns appear to have. — GERM. ED.

CHAPTER V.

1. THE Greek profile, as it is called, in which the forehead and nose form nearly a straight line, is even now, according to the statements of travellers, to be found in nature, and especially in the southern parts of Europe. — GERM. ED.

2. I cannot think that Winckelmann meant to state in this passage that the Giustiniani Pallas, and the Vestal (so called), in this palace, are works of the same old style. The Vestal is much more ancient, and denotes a taste still uncultivated. The Pallas, on the other hand, is one of the most glorious images of this goddess, and may be regarded as a genuine work of the high style of Greek art. — GERM. ED.

3. By these characteristics we distinguish a beautiful figure of Iole with the attributes of Hercules, which was in the possession

of Count Firmian, of Milan. It is of marble; its height is two feet two inches and a half. In some places modern restorations are observable. — GERM. ED.

4. This triangular work is in the palace of the Conservatori, at Rome. The workmanship is admirable. On one side is a Faun, with a band over his mouth, blowing two flutes. On the second side is also a Faun. On the third is a Bacchante. The ornaments under this bas-relief, consisting of volutes and chimæras, and serving as feet, seem to be an imitation of the more ancient Greek style. — GERM. ED.

5. *Pitture d' Ercolano*, Tom. IV., Tav. 42. The mouth-band of flute-players is also seen on a youthful figure in long drapery, on a painted vase in William Hamilton's first collection, published by D'Hancarville (Vol. I., Plate 124). — GERM. ED.

6. The eyes of the Venus, compared with the other parts of her face, are not really small; they are merely a little less opened, for the purpose of imparting a look of sweetness. — GERM. ED.

7. The Cleopatra (so called) has been carried from the villa Medici to Florence. Besides, Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clement.*, Tom. II., p. 90) has shown that similar recumbent statues represent Ariadne. — GERM. ED.

8. Winckelmann means the Judith of the sculptor Le Brun. — F.

9. In Tuscany, persons with such eyebrows are called *stupori*, "dullards." — GERM. ED.

10. It is impossible that Lucian can have considered the sharpness of the edge of the bone over the eyes a beauty in the works of Praxiteles, because this artist, as Winckelmann himself observes in another place (Book IX., chap. 11), renounced this manner of forming it. The passage in Lucian might, therefore, be understood of the beautiful sweep or arch which Praxiteles gave to the edge of the bone over which the eyebrow is placed, — a meaning, also, which seems most applicable to the words τὸ εὐγραμμον. — GERM. ED.

11. Joined eyebrows, such as Suetonius represents Augustus to have had, are actually to be seen in an admirably executed

head of Augustus, of white marble, in the *Pio-Clement Museum* (Tom. VI., Plate 40). This is also the sole known likeness of him in advanced life. — GERM. ED.

12. The parted lips, in images of the gods and heroes executed at a period when art was distinguished for the loftiness and beauty of its style, are, in our opinion, owing to the same cause to which Winckelmann, quite correctly, attributes the deeply seated eyes. By opening the lips it was proposed to obtain stronger shades, greater effect, and increased animation. The desired result has certainly been produced in a fitting manner. — GERM. ED.

13. The somewhat projecting border of the lips is not, like deeply seated eyes, an ideal endowment, furnished by art; it may be regarded as truly an imitation of nature, — especially in figures which belong to the severe and high style, in which the forms of each part are rendered with the utmost possible exactness. Accurate observers will undoubtedly have often noticed this shape of the edges of the lips as natural in young, well-formed persons. — GERM. ED.

14. Franco, *Dial. della Bellezza* (Part. I., p. 27). Also Paolo Antonio Rolli, in the following lines (*Rime*, p. 13): —

"Molle pozzetta gli divide il mento,
Che la beltà compisce, e il riso, e il gioco
Volan' gl' intorno, e cento grazie e cento." — W.

"His chin, where every beauty now 's expressed,
A dimple soft divides, by Love impressed.
About it smiles and sportive jests are found,
And troops of graces flutter in its round."

15. The Antinoüs (so called); this statue Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clement.*, Vol. I., Plate 7) takes to be a Mercury. — F.

16. In the *Trattato Prel.*, Cap. IV., p. 56. Winckelmann adds, — "Since the above-named Venus has a dimple, since one was also to be seen on the statue of Bathyllus at Samos (Apul., *Florid.*, Cap. XV., Tom. 2), I have conjectured that the Venus might perhaps be a portrait-statue of a beautiful woman who had a dimple in her chin. Artists were therefore obliged, in regard to this part, to deviate from the true and ever-present

idea of the beautiful." — F. (Compare Note 4, Book IV., ch. 2.)

17. If the author had had the Venus before him when writing this remark, it could hardly have escaped his observation, that the right side of the chin had been injured, and repaired with stucco. Probably the entire chin has been retouched, and its fulness somewhat diminished, especially at its under part. — GERM. ED.

18. The remark on the beauty of the ears is fully borne out by heads of great excellence, and particularly by busts, which should be examined near at hand, — as, for instance, by the bust of young Commodus in the Capitoline museum, and other busts, of which the remaining parts also are not carelessly executed. The ears of many other heads, and especially of statues, are often neglected. — F.

19. This Hermes has since passed into the Pio-Clement museum. — GERM. ED.

20. It is the right ear which has been restored. — GERM. ED.

21. Winckelmann is correct in his remark as to the striking difference in the handling of the hair between ancient and modern works of plastic art. Careful investigators of antiquity will also be more inclined to attach great importance to the very different modes of treatment of this part, as we can affirm from experience, confirmed in many ways, that, in criticizing differences of style, and in determining the age to which any monument of art belongs, the workmanship of the hair is a character of the utmost significance. The hair can never be represented by the plastic artist as natural in appearance, but only in a conventional manner; its arrangement, therefore, expresses the prevailing taste, the ideas and views of each particular period. Later imitators probably paid even less attention to such accessories; so that their peculiarities, or rather the peculiarities in style of their age, are manifested most strikingly in the hair. — GERM. ED.

22. The execution of the hair during the old style of Greek art was somewhat stiff, and deficient in variety. Even those monuments which approximate to the high style, that is, to the

time of Phidias, still retain some traces of this harsh, wiry manner, though they show a constantly increasing beauty and elevation, and that noble simplicity which always accompanies, and constitutes a part of, the great and the noble. After this epoch in art, the hair has more motion and softness; it appears to have been arranged now very elegantly in ringlets, especially in the images of Venus, Apollo, and Bacchus, like dry yellow or brown hair, which has a natural curl. This good style continued, with various slight modifications, from the time of Alexander until the Romans made themselves masters of the whole civilized world. But, immediately after the first Cæsars, an artificial curl of the hair was introduced, and executed with an exceeding industry. In Adrian's time it seems as though it was intended to represent the hair dripping with oil. Under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, the manner was one of almost endless nicety and labor, — each single hair of the beard and head being rendered in numberless little curls. Thus it went on until shortly after the time of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, when elaborateness of execution expired with art itself. Every thing is now more negligently finished, and becomes gradually coarser, and more deficient in merit, until finally, in the likenesses and other works executed during Constantine's reign, as well as shortly before and after it, we perceive, instead of a characteristic representation of the hair and beard, nothing more than holes irregularly bored, which, when viewed as a whole, resemble a wasp's nest. — GERM. ED.

23. By means of this observation upon the hair, Visconti also was led to recognize a Bacchus in the torso of a statue in the Pio-Clement museum. — GERM. ED.

24. As, for instance, Theseus (Seneca, *Hippolyt.*, vers. 649); Œdipus (Euripides, *Phœnissæ*). Jason also was described in precisely the same manner (Philostrat., *Icon.* 7; *Opera*, Tom. II.). — GERM. ED.

CHAPTER VI.

1. The right arm of the Venus de' Medici, from the shoulder, and the left from the elbow, are modern. — Germ. Ed.

The hands are by Bernini, and are a disgrace to the statue. — Tr.

2. Beautiful antique hands are indeed rare, yet not so rare as one might suppose from this passage. The list of well-preserved hands on ancient statues might be considerably enlarged, if any advantage were to be derived from it. Thus, for instance, both hands and several fingers of the Capitoline Venus are really antique. The right hand, an exquisite little hand, of a well-executed statue, in marble, about half the size of life, of Leda, in the Capitoline museum, is perfectly preserved. The same may be said of a Muse in the Pio-Clement museum; and antique hands in good preservation might be specified from every considerable collection of antiques. — Germ. Ed.

3. The hands and feet of a young Cæsar holding a Parazonium, in the Pio-Clement museum, are ancient, as are also those of the seated child with a goose. In the same museum, among the fragments, may be found the right arm, well preserved, and the hand, of a Pallas; so, likewise, the feet of the most celebrated statues are antique. Two female hands of natural size and exceeding beauty, of Parian marble, were found some years ago. They are now in the possession of Prince Borghese. In the right hand is a butterfly; in the left, a flute. Near the place where these hands were disinterred, a small torch was discovered, on which the butterfly had probably rested, — to signify the warmth which love imparts to the soul. — F.

4. The right leg of the elder son of Laocoön justly holds a place among the most beautiful legs of youthful figures; for the shape of it is admirable, incomparably pure and elegant. Of aged male figures, the legs of Laocoön himself, and also those of the Borghese Silenus holding the infant Bacchus in his arms, deserve the first rank. General opinion pronounces the

legs of the last-mentioned statue to be, unquestionably, the most beautiful of all that remain. — GERM. ED.

5. Very many beautiful feet have come down to us; so that whoever attempts to designate the most beautiful may perchance omit others fully as beautiful. Casts of the feet of the Medicean Venus usually serve artists as models of delicate female feet. Among the feet of male figures, those of the Apollo Belvedere, the Capitoline Antinoüs, the Borghese Silenus, the Laocoön, and the Farnese Hercules, are particularly esteemed. — GERM. ED.

As Winckelmann has not thought proper to enter more fully into the details of beauty in a foot, I will endeavour to supply the omission. A beautiful foot, both of the male and female figure in youth, is rounded in its form; and in the female the toes are delicate, and have dimples over their first joints, which should be very gently marked. Though the foot of the male figure has greater squareness, it should not show more distinctly its anatomical structure. The second toe is the longest of all, and separated by a distinct interval from the great toe, from which it is turned by a slight inclination outward. The heel should not project, for this is a distinguishing mark of brutes. The sole should be arched, and the instep consequently raised; the reverse is observed in animals. The foot of a European is half the length of the leg, measured to the top of the kneepan; its breadth, in a straight line across the upper joint of the little toe, is one third of its length. The anterior part of the foot is intended by Nature to be much broader than the heel; but shoemakers and fashion have decided that this construction is erroneous. It astonishes me that any mother, who looks with fondness upon her infant's foot in all its natural beauty, with its anterior breadth, and the toes smooth, separate, distinct, can ever submit it to the painful and deforming compression which the tyranny of custom requires, and from which, as yet, escape is almost impossible. — TR.

6. See the graphic description of Agamemnon in Homer (*Iliad*, lib. 2, vers. 479). — GERM. ED.

7. The breast was consecrated to Neptune. In the images

of him on antique gems, he is represented as far down as the lower extremity of the chest (*Descript. des Pierres gravées du Cab. de Stosch*), which is not so usual with respect to the other gods. — W.

8. The author, in this passage, seems to intimate exactly the reverse of what is stated in the first chapter, second paragraph, of this book. To us the truth appears to lie between the two statements. In the Amazons the ancients wished to represent heroines, vigorous women, able to endure the toils of war, and who neither courted nor shunned the joys of love. Such a character requires perfectly developed forms, without regard to aught else. Accordingly, the best images of Amazons do not appear as scarcely budding maidens, with breasts which are just beginning to swell, but exhibit the fully matured capacities of youth. On this account, their breasts are neither exuberant, as in women who have borne many children, nor flat, and, as it were, unripe, as in figures of Pallas, Diana, and others, designed as images of a maidenly character that shuns the endearments of love. — GERM. ED.

9. (Pliny, lib. 35, cap. 11, § 40.) The dogs of Lysippus are praised by Pliny (lib. 34, cap. 8, § 19); also one painted by Protogenes (lib. 35, cap. 10, § 36); but Pliny prized above them all a bronze dog, represented licking his wound, which formerly stood in the temple of Juno on the Capitoline hill. It was destroyed when the Capitol was burnt, during the popular commotions occasioned by the partisans of Vitellius. This dog was esteemed so highly, that guards were appointed by a public decree to watch it, and their lives were answerable for its safety. (Pliny, lib. 34, cap. 7, § 17.) — GERM. ED.

10. The left hand holds the rein. The sword-sheath is suspended beneath the left arm by a belt passing over the right shoulder. — GERM. ED.

11. Which is the case now. — F.

12. It is of blackish marble (*bigio morato*), and partly restored. Two of granite, of not quite full size, are in the Pio-Clement museum. — F.

13. Dallaway (Vol. II. p. 134) says, that the sitting dog

which is mentioned as having been carried to England was sold, a few years previously, by Mr. Jennings to Mr. Duncombe, of Yorkshire, for £1,000 sterling. Two similar ones are in the Pio-Clement museum; one in the palace Chigi; and two in the gallery at Florence. All of them are well executed. The one which went to England may, however, have been the best. It was repaired by Cavaceppi, who introduced an engraving of it into his *Raccolta d' Antiche Statue*, but who, unaptly enough, holds it up as a work of Phidias. An admirable group of two greyhounds, — called by the ancients Spartan hounds (Aristænet., *Epist.*, lib. 1, epist. 18), — playing with each other, is to be found in the Pio-Clement museum. A repetition of it is in the museum of Lord Townley, of London. Both these groups, together with several other figures of dogs, were found on a hill, now called Dog-hill, in the vicinity of the ancient city of Lanuvium. — GERM. ED.

14. Not only the head, but all the extremities of the celebrated Giustiniani goat, are by a modern hand. In size, it is larger than life; and the antique work is admirable, and of a truly grand character.

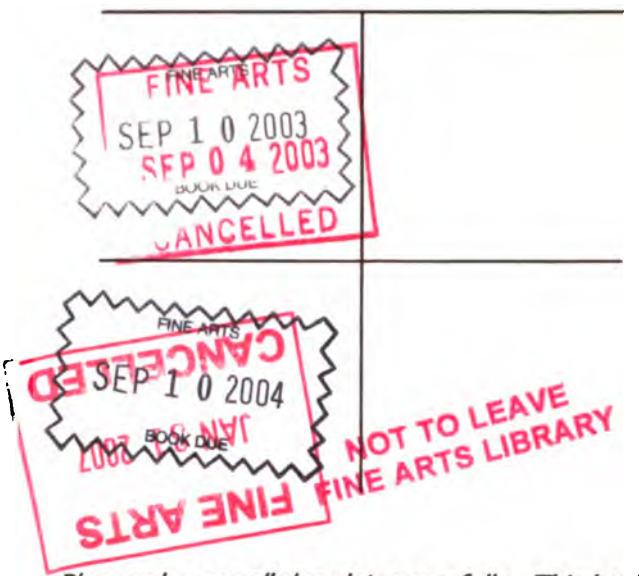
A sitting wild-boar, in marble, above the natural size, is in the Florentine gallery. It is one of the principal pieces among the figures of animals now remaining. It could not have been unknown to Winckelmann, however he may have accidentally omitted to notice it. A powerful and noble style is manifest in all the forms of this admirable beast. The expression is in a high degree natural and lively. The handling is bold, careful, and worthy of a great master; and the stiff, harsh character of the bristles cannot be improved. In Gori's *Museum Florentinum* (Vol. III., Plate 69) there is a tolerable engraving of it. In the villa Borghese is an antique repetition of it, somewhat less in size, of gray marble; it is well executed. — GERM. ED.

15. In the rich collection of animals in the Pio-Clement museum there is a very beautiful goat, Amalthæa, to the beard of which the hand of a child still remains attached. Also a fallow-buck of natural size and color, of Oriental alabaster; a sow, of white marble, with twelve pigs under her; an eagle and a

stork, of superior execution; the head of a rhinoceros, less than the natural size; a crocodile, of touchstone, about four palms long. There is, besides, in the *Capitoline Museum* (Vol. III. p. 162) a crocodile of natural size, of Parian marble. It is, however, to be remarked, that antique figures of animals are, upon the whole, rare. Consequently, a large number of counterfeits of all kinds have been prepared and sold by rogues, in modern times, as genuine works. — F.

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